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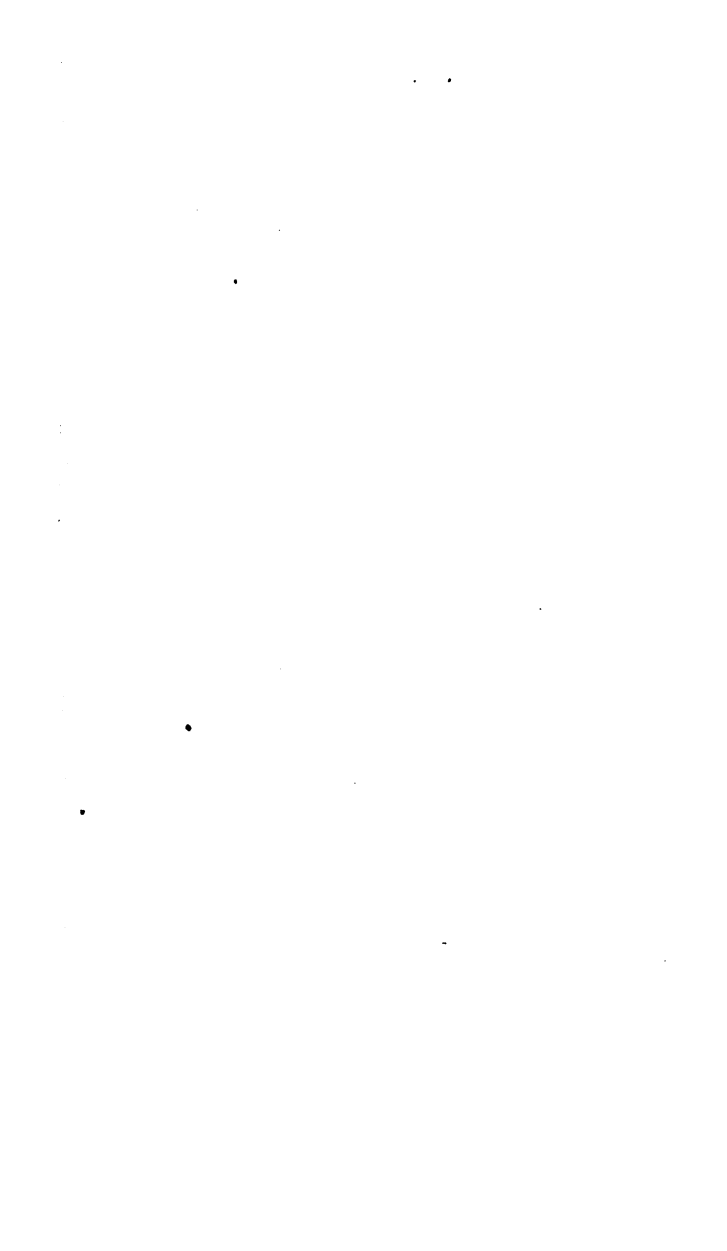
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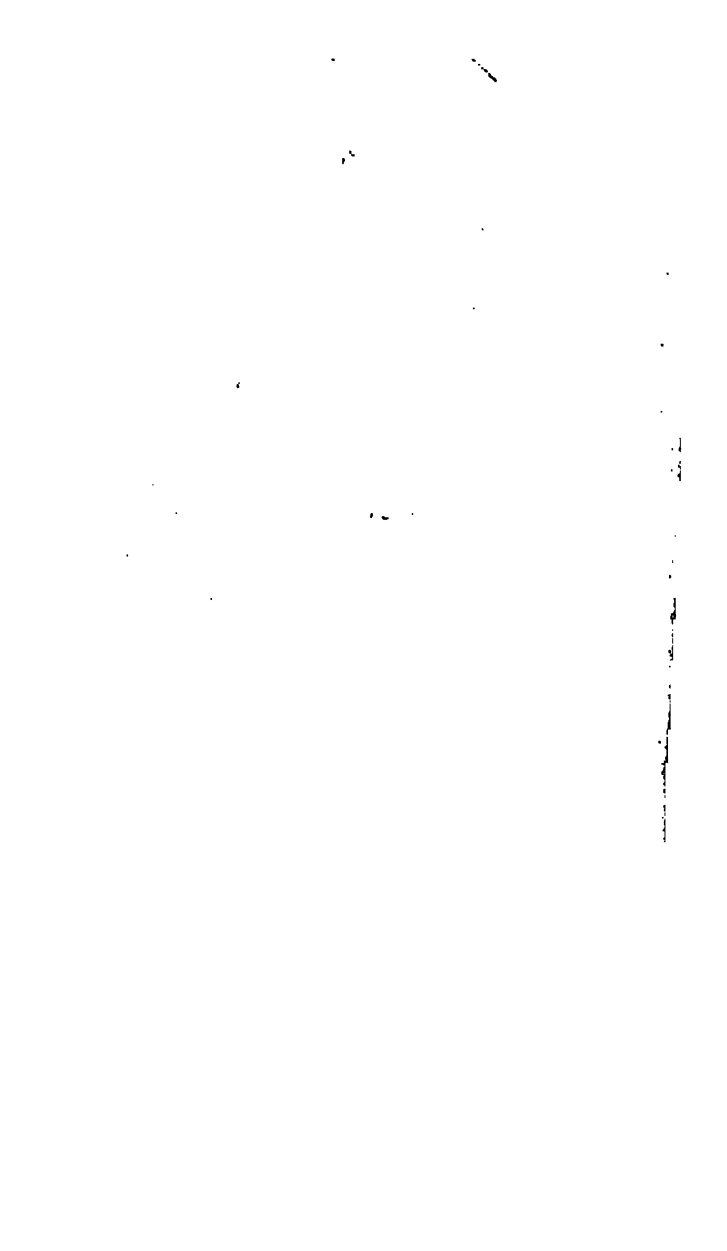
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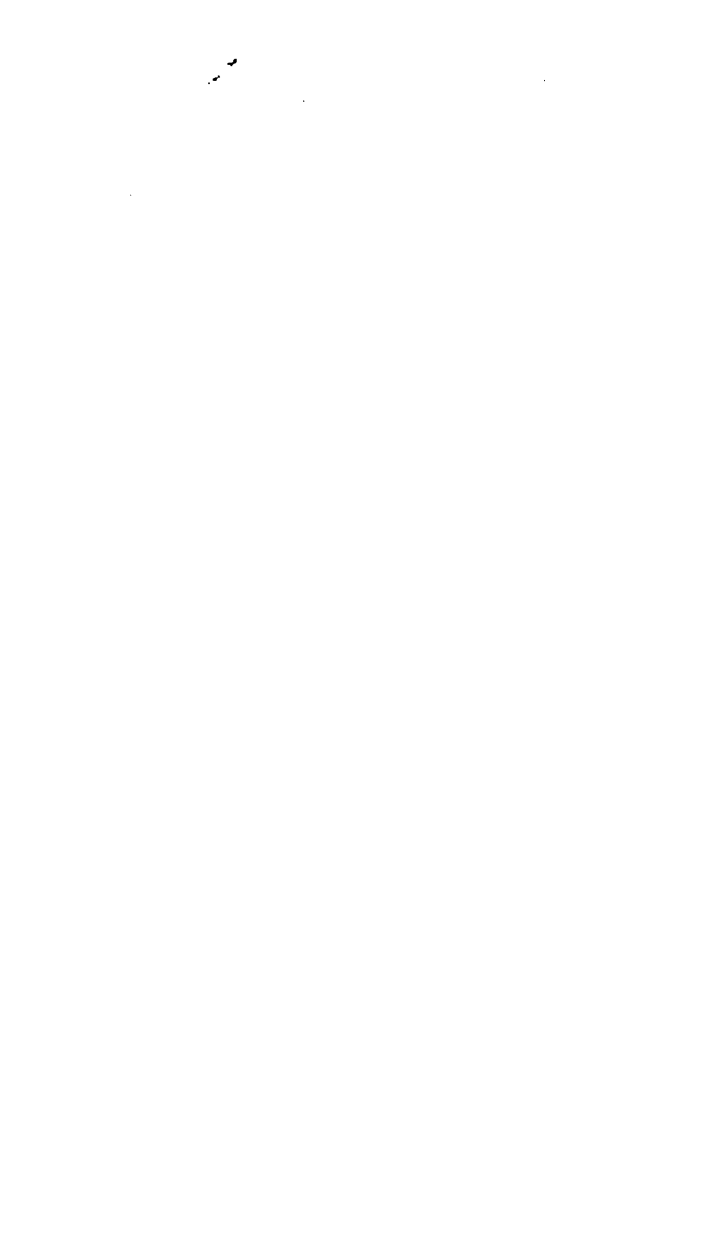
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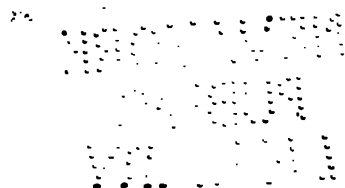






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The Modern
VOYAGER AND TRAVELLER,
THROUGH
EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, & AMERICA,

BY W^M ADAMS, M.A.

VOL. I. — AFRICA.



Hottentot Kraal or Village

London,

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PREFACE.

THE "MODERN VOYAGER and TRAVELLER through EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, and AMERICA," having been selected from the most valuable and authentic sources, is particularly adapted for such persons as do not possess the means or the opportunity of perusing expensive or voluminous statements. Avoiding all dry and uninteresting details, no incident that can amuse or interest the general reader has been overlooked, whilst every species of information connected with the advancement of science, religion, and commerce, has been preserved.

AFRICA has been chosen as the subject for the *first* Volume, from various considerations. Recent Travellers have made themselves intimately acquainted with a vast portion of this Continent; and their extensive and curious inquiries are here concentrated in a perspicuous point of view. Similar care and attention will be found to have been paid to the other three Quarters of the Globe.

In delineating the customs and manners prevailing in different parts of the World, upwards of ONE HUNDRED COLOURED SUBJECTS, exhibiting the costumes and peculiarities of the various nations described, will be introduced, which cannot fail greatly to enhance the value of this work.

In its literary department, the utmost care will be taken that no passage shall be admitted, tending, in the slightest degree, to violate that delicacy which can never be too highly respected. These volumes, therefore, being peculiarly adapted for Youth, by whom books of Voyages and Travels are generally sought after with the greatest avidity, it is presumed they will find a place in the Library of every Juvenile Seminary, where *superior* advantages, and the *extended* improvement of the Pupils, are consulted.

The Second Volume will contain ASIA ; the Third, AMERICA ; and the Fourth, EUROPE.

AUTHORITIES

CONSULTED FOR THIS VOLUME.

AFRICA.

AN Account of the Cape of Good Hope. By Captain Robert Percival. London, 1804.

Barrow's Second Journey into the Interior of Africa, in the years 1801, 1802, to the Residence of the Boshuana Nation, being the remotest point in the interior of Southern Africa, to which Europeans have hitherto penetrated. London, 1806.

Travels into Southern Africa, in the years 1803, 4, 5, and 6. By Henry Lichtenstein, M.D., and professor of Natural History, in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German.

Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the request of the Missionary Society. By John Campbell, Minister of Kingsland Chapel. London, 1815.

Journal of a Visit to South Africa, in 1815 and 1816; with some Account of the Settlements of the United Brethren, in the Cape of Good Hope. By the Rev. C. Latrobe.

The Narrative of Robert Adams, a Sailor, who was wrecked on the Western Coast of Africa, in 1810, and detained three years in Slavery by the Arabs of the Great Desert: he resided in the City of Tombuctoo.

An Authentic Narrative of the Loss of the Brig Commerce, wrecked on the Coast of Africa, in August, 1815; with an Account of the Sufferings of the surviving Officers and Crew, who were enslaved by the wandering Arabs of the Great African Desert, or Zahara. By James Riley, late Master and Supercargo. New York, 1818.

Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa, &c., with an Account of a subsequent Mission to that Country. By Mungo Park, Surgeon, with his last Journey.

Mission from Cape Coats to Ashantee; with a Statistical Account of that Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of other parts of the Interior of Africa. By T. Edward Bowdich, Esq., Conductor. London, 1819.

Narrative of a Residence in Algiers. By Signor Pananti. With Notes and Illustrations. By Edward Blaquiére, Esq London, 1818.

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A Narrative of the Expedition to Algiers, in 1816, under the Command of the Right Hon. Lord Exmouth. By Mr. A. Salamé. London, 1819.

Narrative of P. G. Dumont, relating to his Captivity of Thirty-four Years in the Territory of Mount Felix, between Oran and Algiers. 1819.

Narrative of a Voyage to Senegal, in 1816. By J. B. H. Savigny and Alexander Correard. Translated from the French.

An Account of the Empire of Morocco and the District of Suse, compiled from Miscellaneous Observations made during a long Residence in, and various Journeys through, these Countries. To which is added, an accurate and interesting Account of Tombuctoo, the Great Emporium of Central Africa. By James Grey Jackson. London, 1809.

Letters from Tripoli, Tunis, and Malta. By E. Blaquiére, Esq. 1811.

Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli, in Africa, from the original Correspondence in the possession of the late Richard Tully, Esq., the British consul: comprising authentic memoirs and anecdotes of the reigning Bashaw, his family, and other persons of distinction; also an account of the domestic manners of the Moors, Arabs, and Turks, &c. London, 1812.

Travels in Nubia. By the late John Lewis Burkhardt. Published by the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa. London, 1819.

MODERN VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

CHAPTER I.

Various Conquerors of Africa—the Romans—the Moors, Arabs, Mahometans—The African Association—Mr. Park—Mr. Browne Hornemann—Mr. Nichols—Roentgen—Burkhardt—Mr. Lægh—Captain Light—Captain Tuckey—Major Peddie—Mr. Bowdich.

IN casting an eye upon the early annals of Africa, we find that the Romans, who established their colonies on the ruins of Carthage, were in their turn overthrown by the Vandals, the Vandals by the Greeks of the Eastern Empire, the Greeks by the Arabs or Saracens, whose rapid and irresistible arms, under the caliphs, had completed the conquest of Africa about the end of the seventh century. The spirit of enthusiasm which guided the sword of the disciples of Mahomet, was a volcano whose fiery torrent destroyed what it could not change. In Africa it seems to have changed every thing; Romans, Vandals, Greeks, Goths—with their several languages, laws, religion, and literature, have all disappeared; and the recollection of the most powerful of them, is preserved only by their descendants under the name of *Romi*, as a term of reproach applied to Christians of all nations.

AFRICA.

The Moors, so called by the Europeans, are a mixture of all nations that have at different times settled in Africa; but the predominant character, physical and moral, is that of the Arab or Saracen. The name is unknown to themselves; and if, as it is probable, this name is a corruption from that of the *Mauri*, by which the Romans designated the people of a particular province, it has long ceased to be applicable to the present inhabitants. If you ask a Moor, 'what he calls himself,' he will answer, that he is a *Mooslim*, or believer—his country, *Bled Mooslimen*, the land of believers. The Arabs distinguish themselves by the name of *Medaimen*, or townspeople. Europeans, however, are in the habit of applying indiscriminately the term *Moor*, not only to the mass of population in Northern Africa, but throughout all Asia as far as China.

Passing by former travellers, whose inquiries have not been of that equal importance of those of recent date, it is necessary to remark, that in the year 1788, several public-spirited individuals formed themselves into an association for promoting discoveries in the interior of Africa; but from a deficiency in their funds, and various unforeseen accidents, little progress was made for some time. At the end of the year 1797, Mr. Park returned from exploring the course of the Niger, and the territories situated in its vicinity; and though he failed in his attempt to reach some of the great towns that lie on the banks of that river, the information he actually obtained was found to be of the highest importance.

While Mr. Park was exploring the countries along the line of the Niger for the first time, Mr. Browne, a private gentleman, urged by a spirit of adventure, set out from Assiutt, in Egypt, with a view of getting into Darfur, a country unknown to Europeans, except from some of its natives resident in Egypt, who seemed to possess a less intolerant spirit towards

Christians than Mahomedans in general. From this point he conceived that the choice would be left him either to penetrate into Abyssinia by Kordofan, or to traverse Africa from east to west. He accordingly left Assiutt, with the Soudan caravan, on the 28th of May, 1793, passed through the greater Oasis, where the people chiefly subsist on dates, and Sheb, famous for its native alum; and arrived at Sweini, in Darfur, on the 23d of July. He soon discovered that the people here not only considered him as an infidel, but as a being of an inferior species, whose colour was the effect of disease, or the mark of divine displeasure. His Egyptian agent, whom he had brought from Cairo, not content with robbing him, infused suspicions into the mind of the sultan, who ordered him to be confined in the town of Cobbe. The only person from whom he received any kindness, was the melek of the Jalebs, who had the superintendence over the foreign merchants, he dissuaded Browne from attempting to proceed to Bergoo, on the west, on account of the jealousy between that power and Darfur; or to Senaar, through Kordufan, on the east, on account of some insurrection there; and advised him to embrace the first opportunity of returning to Egypt. The sultan's permission, however, could not be procured for this purpose, till Mr. Browne contrived to alarm the merchants of the caravan, by hinting at the danger of their appearing in Egypt without him; when, after being deprived of all his remaining property by the sultan, he was permitted to depart, and reached Assiutt in the summer of 1796, after an absence of nearly two years.

Mr. Browne for several years after remained in England, till the spirit of adventure broke forth afresh, and drew him from a state of peaceful inactivity. Humboldt's description of the Cordilleras of the Andes, *excited in his breast an unconquerable*

desire to explore the Himalaya and the Hindoo coast ; but, in his way thither, he fell in Persia, by the hand of an assassin, who, it is supposed, was tempted to take away his life for the sake of the valuable property which he somewhat too incautiously carried about him.

The next adventurer was Frederic Hornemann, the son of a German clergyman, educated at Gottingen. He, passing through Paris and Marseilles, reached Cairo in Egypt, in September, 1797, where he was first detained by the plague, and then by the landing of the French at Alexandria ; but when Buonaparte heard of Hornemann's destination, he sent for him, supplied him with passports, and made him liberal offers of money, or whatever else might tend to facilitate his progress. On September, 1799, Hornemann set out for Fez with the caravan, and soon arrived at the Oasis of Siwah, famous for its dates, and still more so for the ruins of Ummebeda, supposed to be the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter Ammon. Passing through Schiaca, Augita, Black Harutch (the Mons Ater of the ancients,) and the vast plain of White Harutch, the caravan arrived at Temissa, the frontier town of Fez, and on the seventy-fourth day from their departure, reached Mourzouk the capital. During his stay here, he collected much valuable information ; that which relates to the Niger, agrees with all the Arab authorities, which identify it with the Egyptian Nile. From Mourzouk, Hornemann proceeded to Tripoli, whence he returned to Fez in January, 1800. In the April following, he wrote that he was on the point of setting out with the caravan for Bornou, in company with two great Shereefs, whose protection, he conceived, would afford him full security. From that time, during a lapse of eighteen years, no accounts were received of him ; but by a recent communication from Captain Smith, employed in surveying the northern coast of Africa, there is little doubt that this ingenious

and enterprising traveller died soon after his departure from Fez.

After all hope of Hornemann had been nearly abandoned by the African Association, two gentlemen offered themselves; the one, Mr. Fitzgerald, to proceed by the way of the Cape of Good Hope; the other, Mr. Nichols, to go wherever the Committee thought proper to send him. The proposal of the first was rejected, though rather unaccountably, as it is no question, but that the south of Africa might be explored with as great, if not greater interest, than the interior of North Africa. Had Dr. Cowan and Lieutenant Donovan, when sent by Lord Caledon to explore it, kept from the verge of the Portuguese settlements, where the slave dealers reside, they certainly might have penetrated into Egypt or Abyssinia. Indeed there appear to be various places on the eastern coast of Africa from which the interior might be explored with a more reasonable chance of success, than from the opposite side; and Lord Valentia thought that Berbera, situated between Gardafui and the Strait of Babelmandel, and to whose great annual fair caravans resort from the interior, offers a point to set out from, with the fairest prospect of visiting the *Bahr-el-Abiad*, or main branch of the Nile, and the Niger, whose source has been so long concealed in the solitudes of Africa. A still nearer way to the regions both of the Nile and the Niger, which are commonly confounded by the Arabs, would be that of the Rio Grande, or Quillimane, near Melinda, whose source is probably on the opposite side of the same mountains which give rise to the *Bahr-el-Abiad*. As to the ferocity of the interposing nation of the Gallas, this rests upon no better proof than the mere assertions of the Abyssinians, who are perpetually at war with them, and who, like all barbarous states, represent their next neighbours as less civilized than themselves.

Mr. Nichols, the other volunteer, was sent to Ca-

labar, in the gulf of Benin, which is certainly the nearest point, on this side of Africa, to the regions of the Niger; and must, indeed, be very near that river, if it should be found to flow in a southerly direction. It was then believed, and has since been amply confirmed, that the Houssa merchants have frequent communications with Benin, and that no mountains impede the journey, which is, however, sometimes retarded by rivers and swamps. Mr. Nichols arrived at Calabar in January, 1805; there he learnt, that most of the slaves come from the west, and that the river of Calabar was not navigable to any great extent, being interrupted by a fall or cataract, which might be heard for several miles, and beyond which the land rose very rapidly. -The same direction, it should be observed, is attributed to the united streams, Rio del Rey, Calabar, Formosa, and several others, in the '*African Pilot*,' on information collected from the old English, Dutch, and Portuguese slave-dealers; and there can be little doubt, that instead of being a continuation of the Niger, according to M. Reichard's hypothesis, all these streams which form the Delta of Biafra, have their source in the Kong mountains, from the opposite side of which, the Niger, the Gambia, and the Senegal, take their rise. Mr. Nichols, unfortunately, did not live to make any more discoveries in this quarter, being seized with a fever of the country, to which he fell a victim.

The next adventurer in African discovery, was a German of the name of Roentgen, who was recommended by Professor Blumenbach, as a young man of considerable talents, great zeal, and a good constitution. Though then only in his twenty-first year, he had performed many long and fatiguing journeys on foot, and particularly an arduous one across the Alps. Not being immediately seconded by the Association, he had recourse to a private subscription, by which *he raised the sum of 250l.*, and this he deemed suffi-

cient for his first essay. Instead, however, of setting out for Barbary, after properly qualifying himself to pass for a Mohammedan, and undergoing the strange preparations, such as eating flies and spiders, living on bread and water, leaving his bed to sleep under hedges in frost and snow, &c., to the surprise of all his friends, he set out suddenly with Mrs. Bathurst on her journey to the continent, in quest of intelligence concerning the death of her husband, the king's messenger, who disappeared, in a very strange and unaccountable manner, whilst upon his mission in some part of Prussia. On his return, however, he proceeded in 1811 to Mogadore, intending to make his way through Terudant to Akka, on the confines of the desert, where he hoped to find a caravan of Tombuctoo traders; and by joining himself to their company in the character of a merchant and a doctor, he expected, without much difficulty, to reach Tombuctoo. In the course of his Arabic studies at Mogadore, he became acquainted with, and eventually took into his service, a renegade, who described himself as a native of Yorkshire, but born of German parents; and who, having been at Mecca, assumed the title of 'El Hage, which may too frequently be considered as synonymous with 'vagabond.' Hage professed his readiness to accompany Roentgen, and became the confidant of his whole plan. The imprudence of this trust, in a person almost entirely unknown, was strongly urged at Mogadore by the English gentlemen resident there, but in vain; and equally so was every attempt to detain Roentgen till he had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the Arabian language. Meanwhile his residence in the town, without any apparent occupation, having attracted the notice of the governor, he resolved to take the first opportunity of commencing his journey: this was speedily afforded him, by joining a party of pleasure into the country, made by the few Europeans at *Mogadore*. Accordingly, in the evening, when the rest

were about to return, they learned with surprise that Roentgen was determined to proceed, though unprovided with tent or bedding. At eleven at night, accompanied by one of the party, he reached the banks of the Tenaift, where he was joined by the renegade; and two miles further, with the baggage, consisting of two or three haiks and rugs, a few articles of merchandise, a case of medicine, some books, and among them a Koran and an Arabic dictionary, with a set of mathematical and astronomical instruments. Roentgen had about 700 dollars, in gold and silver coins, and the renegade the remainder, sewed up in their girdles. At two o'clock their companion from Mogadore took his final leave of them; and Roentgen, there is every reason to believe, was murdered on the same night. Various reports were circulated at Mogadore concerning his murder; but the general suspicion fell on the renegade, who was never afterwards seen there. No appeal was ever made to the emperor to pursue the assassin, as Mr. Roentgen unfortunately had never claimed the official protection of any consul or public agent. An Arab was taken into custody at Morocco for offering for sale some articles suspected to have belonged to *Roentgen*, and tortured, but made no confession. These articles, afterwards identified at Mogadore, were a watch and a towel.

M. Burckhardt, a Swiss by birth, spent so many years in modern Africa and Arabia as to enable him, by his intimate knowledge of the manners and the language of the natives, to pass at will for a Turk, an Arab, or a Moor. He was known in Egypt by the name of Shekh Ibrahim, and travelled under the auspices of the African Association.

Mr. Legh performed his journey in Egypt and Nubia in 1812; and was afterwards followed by Captain Henry Light of the royal artillery. He penetrated farther than Mr. Legh, and was witness to the numerous remains of Christianity in this part of the world,

the altars, the bas-reliefs of the Virgin, &c., among the most ancient pagan temples which had been taken possession of by the early Christians for the purposes of public worship. In several places were also paintings of scriptural subjects of the Greek church. He found the square masonry, forming the mouths of the mummy pits at Deer, or Iddeer, loaded with Greek inscriptions and crosses, proving that Christians had been buried there; but the jealousy of the natives, who will never be convinced that curious travellers are not seeking for treasure, prevented him from gratifying a wish to procure some of the mummies, in the hope that a connexion might be traced between the Greek, the Coptic, and the Hieroglyphic. He also learned that temples, with pictures like those he had seen at Dakke and other places, were to be found on the left bank of the Nile as far as Dongola.

After Mr. Legh's return, Mr. Banks, another of our countrymen, penetrated into Nubia still further than the former, and reached the second cataract, or that in the neighbourhood of Genodil. He is said to have discovered statues, or rather their remains, which even surpass "the colossal proportions of the Memnonian." One that was buried in the ground, presented a head measuring twelve feet from the chin upward. In another place, the whole side of a mountain was cut away, so as to form a perpendicular wall, chiselled out into regular columns with capitals, and adorned with numerous hieroglyphics; the whole forming the front of a magnificent temple. Mr. Banks has thus trodden ground untouched by the foot of any native of modern Europe; for Bruce passed Genodil considerably to the east, and a French traveller directed his course by a route on the western bank of the Nile.

The next expedition which set out, apparently with more promise than the rest, was that of Captain Tuckey, whose object was to penetrate up the Congo or Zaire into southern Africa. Captain Tuckey was

a brave and intelligent officer, of a zealous and ardent mind, well stored with resources, and not easily subdued by difficulties. His lieutenant, Mr. Hawkey, had acquired considerable skill in drawing; and the master, Mr. Fitzmaurice, was an excellent surveyor. Three gentlemen of science, Mr. Professor Smith, of Christiana in Norway, botanist and geologist; Mr. Cranch, geologist and collector of subjects of natural history; and Mr. Tudor, comparative anatomist, besides Mr. Lockhart, a gardener, from His Majesty's botanical garden at Kew, accompanied the expedition; all of whom, with the exception of the surveyor and the gardener, fell a sacrifice, not so much to the climate, as to the example set by their commander, of an over-anxious zeal to accomplish the great object of their mission. Finding the river above the cataracts to be hemmed in between a range of precipices and mountains, which forbade all approach to its banks, and, for the distance of thirty or forty miles, bristled with rocks and foaming with rapids, and understanding at the same time that it again became navigable higher up, they were led on from place to place, until the whole party fell down one by one, completely exhausted with fatigue and the want of nourishing food. This brought on a fever, not unlike the Bulam fever; and so fatal, that out of thirty persons who set out on this land journey, sixteen perished before they left the river, and two in the passage across the Atlantic to Bahia. Captain Tuckey is said to have been the last who gave in, persevering to trace the river till it became a majestic sheet of water from four to five miles in width, forming, with its well-clothed banks, scenery not less beautiful and far more magnificent than any on the banks of the Thames. From the disappearance of the mountains, the expansion of the river, its northerly direction, and the rising of the water long before the rains set in, *and from the information derived from the natives, he*

had no doubt of the source of the Zaire being to the northward of the line; and if any faith may be put in Sidey Hamet's Wassanah, as described by Keley, as little can it be doubted that the Zaire and the Niger are the same.

The other recent expedition under Major Peddie, ascended the river Nunez, in North Africa, with a view of getting into the navigable part of the Niger, by a shorter track than that pursued by Park, and of proceeding down the stream of that mysterious river wherever it might conduct him. This military expedition was almost as unfortunate as the naval one. Major Peddie died at Kakundy on their arrival on the coast, and Lieutenant M'Kay shared the same fate up the river. Hearing of these misfortunes, and urged by an ardent desire to become a party in the hazardous enterprise, Lieutenant Stockoe, with a prize taken by Sir James Yeo, could not resist the temptation of volunteering his services, and actually set out to join the expedition. On the 30th of June 1814, this officer returned to Sierra Leone with the melancholy intelligence of the death of Captain Campbell, who had succeeded to the command on the death of Major Peddie at Kakundy. He was stopped, it appears, at a place called Pangettoe, on the road to Labay and Teembo, about 150 miles beyond Kakundy, and delayed there for two months, in consequence of the refusal of the chief of the Foolahs to let him proceed, on the plea of a war then existing between him and a neighbouring chief. At this place he lost the whole of his camels, his horses, and the greater part of his asses. Seeing no prospect of being able to proceed, he was determined to retrace his steps, and after many difficulties and privations, reached Kakundy, with the loss of one man only.

Colonel Macarthy, the governor of Sierra Leone, and all those on the coast who know any thing of *Africa*, represented the route of Rio Nunez as the

worst that could have been taken, and Kakundy in particular, as the very focus of disease.

The expedition, or rather the mission, of Mr. Bowdich, from Cape Coast to the capital of the Ashantees in 1816, will be found amply detailed in the succeeding pages.

CHAP. II.

General Observations upon Africa—The Cape Town and neighbouring hills—Castle—Church—Squares—Hospital—Houses—Gardens—Inns and Taverns—English Officers—Baths—Animals—Birds—Wines—Dutch Boors—Hottentots—Caffres—Improvements—Attachment of the Hottentots to the British.

WITH respect to the different quarters of the partly unknown continent of Africa, it seems that from the earliest antiquity to the present time, curiosity and imagination have claimed a sort of common right in its unexplored wastes. The restless impulses of our nature have there found an unenclosed domain, where they may revel and expatiate in boundless freedom. Hence fact and illusion have been blended together to form a series of splendid and attractive objects, towards which the anxious inquiries of mankind, and those of scientific and mercantile travellers, have been successively directed. The chronicle of these various enterprises is, in fact, the key to our knowledge of Africa. The search after "The Islands of the Blessed," "the Realm of Prester John," the Springs of the Nile, the Rise, Course, and Termination, of the Niger; the cities of Tombuctoo, Houssa and Wassana, and the identity of the Niger and the Congo, have alternately excited a succession of indefatigable research. At present the

southern part of Africa, but especially the immense districts belonging to the Cape of Good Hope, warmly engage the attention of the British government and nation.

It has been remarked of travellers in general, that when they have undertaken the description of the Cape of Good Hope, "they have said little or nothing of the principal part of the Colony," viz. the Cape Town; but have immediately proceeded to the description of the wild uncultivated part of it, filling up the pages of their journals with details of their daily transactions with the simple or savage natives of Hottentot Holland, or Caffraria.

That the Cape and the surrounding country were in the hands of the Dutch till the late Revolutionary French war, is universally known, when it became necessary for us to take it out of their hands, to prevent our enemies from getting possession. The present writer observes, that in the year 1795, an expedition being formed under Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig, a landing was effected with little or no opposition, in Simon's Bay, the Dutch evacuating their batteries without even firing a gun. Retreating to Mussenberg, the general followed them: their force at this place was superior to his, having nearly two thousand burghers and militia all mounted, besides a corps of Hottentots posted upon the hills. The loss of the British, in forcing them from this strong position, did not exceed twenty persons killed and wounded, and the Hottentots and Dutch slaves seeing the boldness and intrepidity of our soldiers and sailors, fled down the hills on the opposite side. The Dutch in a short time withdrew to Cape Town, and sent proposals to the English general to capitulate, which being accepted, possession was obtained of this valuable settlement with very little opposition.

Cape Town has been properly called a well-built town, rising in the midst of a desert enclosed by

AFRICA,

dreary mountains.—However, approaching the head of Table Bay, the town on the right opens to our view. Here the stranger is greatly struck with the beautiful and variegated appearance of the prospect before him, viz. the meadows and low lands, the batteries and redoubts stretching along the shore, the scattered ranges of store-houses, hospitals, arsenals, and the guard-houses connected with those batteries and their different posts. The long, sandy, and circular beach bordering the Table Bay, comes close up here, and boldly sweeps round in the form of a crescent. The Table Bay presents itself full in view with the ships of war and others at anchor, while numerous ships are seen coming in and going out, under full sail. The country beyond the bay to the right, gradually ascends from the shore in small green sheep-hills, while the high hills and mountains stretch along, in one unbroken range. On the left hand appears the Tiger Hill, and immediately under it the redoubts and batteries regularly sloping down to the place where we stand. The Table Mountain, awfully grand, rises majestically above the rest. The deep chasms in its sides are relieved by the Company's gardens at its foot, with the plantations and gardens that skirt the back of the town. The Lion's Head, so called by the Dutch, and by the English the Sugar Loaf, from its conical form, seems attached to the Table Mountain; and beyond the Lion's Head is the Lion's Staart, or Rump, coming round like a half moon, and terminating close to the shore of Table Bay, a mile beyond the town in a sloping green point. The town immediately opposite resembles an amphitheatre, being large, regular, and well arranged; the houses are well plastered and whitewashed, and this adds considerably to the neatness of its appearance at a distance. Beyond the town, the Amsterdam and Chevrone batteries, near the edge of the bay, and close to Green Point, complete this noble

and grand view. The Cape Town, thus pleasantly situated on a plain, that rises with an easy ascent to the foot of the three great hills, in addition to the batteries already mentioned, is further defended by the castle close to the entrance of it. This is a large extensive building of a pentagonal form, surrounded by a ditch; the ramparts are strong, and a number of cannon are planted on the walls commanding the approach to the town, &c. Within this fortress are two regular oblong squares with barracks, guard-houses, and quarters for the principal officers, both civil and military. The castle also contains the governor's apartments, and most of the public offices. Cape Town is divided by five streets running in a parallel direction from the shores, or edge of the bay, towards the Table Mountain, with five other streets, intersected by lanes at regular intervals, which cross the larger streets at right angles, and run from one end of the town to the other, beginning from the street bordering the esplanade, and ending towards the Lion's Rump. The whole town, though very large, is thus seen at one view. People may land from the shipping in the bay at any part of the beach, which is bordered by a very long street extending from the castle to the Amsterdam battery, upwards of a mile in length. This proves a very great convenience to merchant vessels, that can take in water from the several streams that run down the hills through the town, in various parts of the beach. Most of the streets are wide, airy, and spacious, planted with oak trees entwined in each other, which shade the houses, and moderate the glare occasioned by the reflection of the sun from the white houses. They also serve to break the violence of the south-east winds, to which the town is much exposed. Several of the streets have small canals running through them, quayed and walled in, with regular rows of trees; and the *whole is kept in tolerably good order.*

Here are three squares; the principal one contains several excellent houses, and some handsome public buildings. The Stadt House is a large expensive structure, and the spacious vaults underneath are generally rented by the merchants, who deposit their wines here. The second square contains the markets, where fruit, vegetables, and other articles, are sold by blacks and slaves, for their masters. The third square, called the Hottentot Square, is the place where the Dutch boors and farmers used to resort to, and where the Hottentot waggon-drivers put up. Horses and cattle are bought and sold here. Between the town and castle there is another large square, or more properly a green level plain, divided and bounded by canals that run down to the beach, and carry off the refuse of the sewers. This being the grand parade of the garrison, may be called the esplanade to the castle. Barracks form one side of this parade, and the town bounds it on the other. Its front is formed by a street running quite from the edge of Raggou Bay, up to the entrance of the Company's garden and Table Bay; and part of a new street by the water-side, forms the third side of this esplanade, while the castle closes in the fourth. Near to this side was the place of execution for the slaves and blacks; and here, upon a small enclosed eminence, a rack and a wheel, with a couple of gibbets, were erected by the Dutch; but this barbarous mode of putting criminals to the torture, was abolished by the English Governor, immediately on his taking possession of the Cape. The barracks here are capable of containing three regiments, one of them of cavalry. At the back of one of the wings is a house of correction for slaves and people of colour committing petty offences, who are taken out every morning to work at the government offices, the batteries, or military buildings, under the superintendence of the officers of police. On certain days,

a party of these are sent about under a proper guard, to clean the streets of any dirt or nuisance. Dutch slave-owners, instead of punishing their slaves with their own hands, were obliged to send them here, and did not support them whilst they were deprived of their labour; a very salutary and useful regulation.—The prison for debtors is near the beach of Raggou Bay, and here all criminal trials used to be held.

The Calvinist and Lutheran churches, both belonging to this town, are handsome and spacious structures; though the steeple of the former is thatched with reeds, on account of the violent winds, which would soon destroy any other species of covering.

The Hospital, established by the English governor, is about a mile from the town, near the head of Table Bay, and consists of a long range of buildings fronting the sea; but so healthy is the situation of Cape Town, that it has been often known, that out of five thousand men quartered in the town, and encamped round it, scarcely forty were in the hospital at one time. The English, Captain Percival observed, found the Cape to answer their constitutions and habits much better than the natural inhabitants; and were, in general, much more healthy than the Dutch. The Cape, with great justice, is esteemed the healthiest climate in the world. The use of the common thin wine here, procured at a cheap rate, often causes bowel complaints; and the Dutch being subject to many more diseases than ourselves, it is imputed to their lazy, listless, and inactive habits of life. Apoplexies, dropsies, liver complaints, and eruptions all over their bodies, are frequently among them.

Most of the houses in Cape Town are three or four stories high, and constructed of brick, or a red dish granite stone, plastered, &c., outside. The roofs are mostly flat, with terraces, and are covered

with square red tiles, large, firm, and well cemented together. This mode of roofing the houses is adopted for resisting the violent winds, and in the hot weather they afford a pleasant place to sit or walk upon, to enjoy the benefit of the sea breezes. The other houses, that are conically or slantingly roofed, are covered with thatch of reeds, or straw of Indian corn; though, as this mode is dangerous, from fire, it is not encouraged under the English government. Many of the houses have pleasant gardens behind; and in front, a porch, or stoop, as the Dutch call it, raised a few steps from the ground, and running the whole length of the house. They are enclosed with a parapet or wall, three or four feet high, and have a seat or bench at each end, neatly flagged with red tiles or blue stones, brought from Robin's island, at some distance out in the bay.

The houses are remarkably neat within, the rooms lofty and well-furnished. The staircases and upper galleries of oak, are kept in as much care as our mahogany dining tables; and the houses are so well laid out, as always to possess apartments that are cool and refreshing at every season. Many new houses erected by the English, who came out to settle here on commercial business, or in the service of government, are handsomely built after the English style, having the bricks of their natural colour, and from which the refraction of the sunbeams, in warm weather, cannot produce the inconvenience attending whitened houses.

At the entrance of the Company's gardens are a pair of handsome gates fronting the grand walk, as broad as the Bird-cage-walk in St. James's park, and running the whole length of the garden. Each side of this is thickly planted with oak, low elms, myrtle, laurel, and geraniums. On the left side is a canal, *always filled with water from the Table-mountain, and running from the garden into the town.* Through

an arch, at one side of the entrance, we cross this canal into the pleasure garden by a neat Chinese bridge. The whole of this ground contains about forty acres, regularly divided into four squares by broad walks crossing each other at right angles. In one of these divisions is the governor's house; a handsome large building, though only two stories high. In the botanical garden here, a variety of curious exotics are reared; several from Europe; many from India, Otaheite, and other parts of the world. The Dutch destroyed several of the breadfruit trees here, before they surrendered to the English in 1795. When Lord Macartney came here as governor, he ordered the garden to be replanted and laid out; since this it has been of real utility, as well as an ornament to the town. At the further end of this garden is a menagerie for wild beasts, uncommonly well filled with animals of every description. Some of that beautiful horse species called the Zebra were seen here, quietly grazing in the fields, with ostriches, so tame, that they suffered the little black boys to get upon their backs and ride them. It has before been stated, that the back of Cape-town is bounded by a long range of mountains, extending in the form of a crescent. The Table-hill, that lies nearly in the centre of the range, is supposed to be four thousand feet above the level of the sea; and derives its name from the level surface of its summit. Its north front directly faces the town, and rises in a bold perpendicular form, having one great chasm in the middle, and divided by another from the two great hills, the Tiger-mountain and the Lion's head, that form wings to the Table-mountain. On the left is the Tiger-hill, at the entrance of the town from Wineberg; so called from its being formerly infested with tigers. On the right of the Table is the Lion's-head or Sugar-loaf-hill. These three hills, extending six miles in length, may be supposed originally to have formed but one mountain, and to have

been separated by some convulsion of nature. The whole surface of the Lion's Rump has a pleasant, fresh, and green appearance; having houses and plantations from the declivity quite to the bay. Near this place the English officers marked out a race-ground, where they had races every month; and since racing commenced here, the breed of horses has been improved. Though a visit to the summit of the Table-mountain is highly desirable, no person should venture upon it whilst there are any indications of bad weather, as it is sometimes suddenly covered with clouds, which would prevent a traveller from finding his way back again for two or three days. On the first appearance of the clouds that announce these changes, they are of a light bluish colour and small; the terrible south-east wind inevitably follows; hence it was a common observation with the Dutch, when they saw the first formation, "that the Devil was going to dinner, and that he had laid his cloth upon the Table-mountain." They then shut up their windows and doors, and kept in their houses till the storm was over. The prospect, however, after the summit of this mountain is attained, richly repays the fatigue attending its ascent.

Though the climate of the Cape differs from any in Europe or Asia, as the weather like the year is nearly equally divided into two seasons, the wet and the dry, no people, as before observed, proved its salutary effects more than the English. The dry season is from March to September; so that the summer commences at the Cape when it ends with us in England. The spring months are from about the latter end of September to the middle of December; the hottest weather is in January and February. The autumn commences about the latter end of March; and the winter months are June, July, and August. The chief inconveniences of winter arise from the heavy fogs, misty rains, and strong north-west winds, which then prevail. In the summer, the heat, the dry parching

south-east winds, and a long want of those refreshing showers that so often fall in Europe, are extremely disagreeable for some time to a stranger. The spring months are the most agreeable and temperate, being equally free from the damp fogs of winter, and the oppressive heat of summer. During this period, which lasts four months, the people at the Cape undertake their journeys to the settlements and farms, or make excursions for pleasure. The summer, notwithstanding, brings forward the productions of the earth in the greatest profusion. The beginning of the autumn is as mild and delightful as the spring, though the end of it is rather rainy. Water-spouts are often seen on shore as well as in the Bay ; and torrents of rain have sometimes alarmed the inhabitants for the safety of the lower town, particularly in the year 1799, when the bursting of a water-spout caused considerable damage. The approach of winter is known to the inhabitants by the appearances on the Table-mountain, when heavy rains occur, with thunder and lightning, which rarely happen at any other time of the year; and although it never freezes at Cape Town, snow is seen on the tops of the Hottentot mountains, and elsewhere. The summer is ushered in by a clear and bright appearance of the firmament, and a blue sky. But though the thermometer generally rises from 70 to 84 degrees, yet the constant circulation of air renders this climate far more endurable than that of most parts of the East Indies. The nights in the heat of summer are always cool and refreshing. Many officers and gentlemen that contract disorders incident to the climate of India, come to the Cape to repair their constitutions, and are often restored in a very short period ; and these people prefer the winters at the Cape to those of England, which are subject to greater colds and damps than the former ; besides, few of the malignant disorders in Europe are known here. Under the Dutch government, and long after the English

arrived, there were no inns, hotels or taverns, at Cape Town; but no embarrassment arose to strangers from this circumstance, as every house was open to receive them without scruple. It was a sufficient recommendation, for any person, to belong to a ship going to or coming from India. In the latter case, people were received with the greatest avidity, supposing they might be Nabobs, loaded with treasures from the east, who would pay liberally, either in money or presents, for their fare. On the first introduction of the English officers at the Cape into Dutch houses, they were obliged to conform to their hours, customs, and manners of living, which was very unpleasant to Englishmen. Their early hours for meals, the heavy and greasy provisions on their tables, and the peculiar mode of dressing it, with the then white wine they usually drank, were insuperable objections against residing in a Dutch house. By degrees, however, being permanently fixed, alterations took place, and our countrymen persuaded the Dutch to adopt more of the English customs; so that there was a mixture of manners, half English, and half Dutch, in the hours of dining, and in the mode of dressing victuals. As soon as government could erect or procure barracks for the officers and the garrison, messes were established, and the Dutch were relieved from the inconvenience they felt in conforming to our manners. Taverns and coffee-houses have since that period been established. One of the first of these was called "The African Club House." Being principally used by officers, the subscription and expense of living here was very high, especially to those who drank European wines.

The country about the Cape Town, contains a great contrast of scenery and soil. On a line with Wineberg, at a distance of seven miles south of the town, the houses and plantations of the Dutch begin. Some of these have such a number of little offices attached

to them, that they look like so many distinct villages. But about the distance of three miles before we come to Wineberg, is situated the delightful vine plantations; and the village of Constantia, at the foot of a hill that shelters it from the south-east winds. The beauty of this place is increased by groves of the silver-tree all round it. Beyond Constantia, and nearly on a line with Wineberg, is Witte Boem, another pretty village.

The vegetables are mostly of the same kind with those we have in Europe. The nopel, or prickly pear, which feeds the Cochineal insect, is in abundance. The cabbage-tree grows very tall without branches, except a bunch at the top; the thick soft stalk, when boiled, resembles our cabbages in taste. Fruit is in great abundance, and uncommonly cheap, and is reckoned here extremely wholesome. The oranges are large and well-flavoured; and here are abundance of plantains, pumpkins, pomegranates, guavaes, melons, squashes, or water-melons, cherries, strawberries, figs, peaches, apricots and nectarines; but the latter not so large or well-flavoured as those in Europe. Both the apples and the potatoes at the Cape are inferior to ours; but this is imputed to the bad mode of cultivating the latter. The Dutch, on the contrary, have been in the habit of planting large fields of carrots, a bunch of which is reckoned equal to a feed of corn for their horses. No hay used to be had near Cape Town: nor were there any enclosed fields or paddocks of grass for the horses to be turned into.

Among the trees and shrubs, myrtle grows to a great height, and, with laurels, laurestines, geraniums, jessamines, albuscas, and hyacinths, form fences, and grow in many places spontaneously. The silver-tree strikes the eye immediately from the richness and colour of its leaves; the tree is about the size and thickness of our small poplar or pine, but the branches are more spreading, and grow near the top; the wood is only fit for fuel, which has hitherto been very scarce about

the Cape; but as the woods of the interior are in many places very large, means have been adopted for transporting timber by sea carriage to the Cape. In fact, whilst Lord Macartney was at the Cape, a vein of coal was discovered of considerable extent, but from the embarrassed state of a newly conquered country, and the want of people to work it properly, very little was taken up, and the mine was entirely neglected. To the cultivation of grain, vegetables, fruits, and such trees as were naturally of a hardy kind, and required little attention, the Dutch paid some respect; but whatever required further exertion, even where gain was evidently the ultimate reward, the indolence of these degenerate colonists prevailed even over their avarice.

The warm baths in this country have been found to possess very eminent virtues. They are situated beneath the Black Mountains. Reeds, flowers, and herbs, grow along the rivulets and streams issuing from them. These waters are strongly tinctured with a metallic flavour; but when swallowed, they do not create any great uneasiness in the stomach and bowels. One of the streams has an extremely nauseous smell, much resembling the Harrowgate waters. Consumptive and bilious habits have often been cured, with head-aches and spasms in the chests, by these baths, which cannot but improve under the hands of the English.

The animals that inhabit this part of the world are extremely numerous; and some are accounted peculiar to the Cape. Among the wild quadrupeds, are the lion, the elephant, the tiger, leopard, hyena, wolf, tiger-cat, jackal, rhinoceros, buffalo, wild hog, camelopard, and the hippopotamus. The elephant and the two latter are peculiar to the interior; as is also the lion, who is now become a very rare visitor at the Cape. Hyenas and wolves do much mischief in the country. Of the deer, antelope, and goat, several species are found here, and known under the

names of the spring-bok, stein-bok, riet-bok, duiker-bok, &c. The latter derives its name from its plunging and springing among the bushes when closely pursued. It is about the size of a common deer, of a dirty-brown colour, with two long straight horns. The gries-bok bears more resemblance to a goat, but is so exceedingly swift, that none of the rest of the wild beasts can overtake it. The bonta-bok and haart-beest, are uncommonly large, and are only found in the interior. Buffaloes are numerous in the Caffre country, and the small quadrupeds are innumerable, monkeys are common; but the baboons seem the most prominent race; they are exceedingly ugly, disgusting, and mischievous. The domestic animals here are few, chiefly sheep, goats, oxen, and horses. The horses here were originally brought from Batavia, Java, and South America. When the 28th dragoons were first mounted here, they had great trouble in breaking in the Cape horses, they being very vicious. Goats are much esteemed at the Cape on account of their milk, and their number of kids. The cows and oxen too are of various kinds; the large draft oxen are peculiar to the Cape, and are distinguished by a large head, long horns, and legs with very broad hoofs; but a race of beautiful small oxen, like those of Alderney, are fattened for table; and the cows of this breed give a great quantity of milk. The Dutch seemed to know little about the proper mode of feeding their cattle; and the head and inside of the beasts were never eaten by them, till they saw them dressed by the British soldiers. At first they sold heads for about a penny a piece; but this price was soon increased, when they saw how much was made of the boiling of sheep's heads, &c., particularly by the Scots.

Veal was very rare at the Cape before its cession to the British; as mutton had been the principal food of the Dutch and their blacks; this is much coarser and stronger than ours; and the wool is more like frizzled

hair than the fleece of European sheep, and of no other use than to stuff common mattresses or beds for the slaves. In their rumps and tails is concentrated the whole of their fat; and one of these will weigh from nine to eighteen pounds.

Dogs are numerous; and every Dutch house used to keep a number of them, the property of the master, the slave, or the Hottentot. Few people go out without one or two of them, as they are occasionally very useful, in scenting wild beasts, hunting game, and driving off the jackals by night; they are generally half-starved, miserable looking animals, with little hair; but at night, as soon as the jackals find their prey at the back of the town, &c., they begin their cries directly, which is a signal to the town dogs, who, as if by previous agreement, rush out in a body and attack them.

Pigs are very scarce, not being much esteemed by the Dutch, though in the interior there is a species of the wild hog.

The feathered race are very numerous; eagles, vultures, kites, &c., are seen over the hills, and these, with other ravenous birds, come to the skirts of the Cape Town, and assist in clearing it of dead animals and filth, the crows being very busy in the streets; they were not allowed to be shot or molested. The wild peacock is more beautiful than ours, and is an excellent bird for the table. The English, from its resemblance to the bustard in size and shape, called it by that name. Sir George Young introduced the game laws at the Cape, and obliged every one to take out a license before he could use a fowling-piece.

Partridges, pheasants, and bustards of various kinds, are in great plenty all over the settlement. Here is also the jungle bird of Asia with the double spur, and the pelican. The flamingo is a common inhabitant of the pools and marshes. The grenadier bird is so called from the tuft on his head. Turtle-doves, wild-

pigeons, and woodpeckers, are in great abundance. The mountain and Egyptian geese, a species much smaller than ours, are found in the swamps near the corn fields, and do the corn no small injury.

With respect to reptiles and venomous creatures, though there are many of them in the interior, few of them are to be met with about Cape Town and the southern extremity of the peninsula. On the contrary, people may enjoy themselves without any apprehension of being stung to death in their houses, as is the case in India. The toads and frogs at the Cape are of a very large size, and their croaking at night is extremely annoying to strangers. A number of them then seem to unite in a kind of cadence, and regularly commence each peal of croaking, quite different from any thing known in Europe, which they generally cease altogether. Land-turtles are every where to be met with, crawling about in the sand; the blacks broil them, separate the shell, and eat them; they make excellent soup. The guana, though a disgusting creature in appearance, is delicious food, as white and as tender as a chicken, but more rich and luscious, though it strongly resembles a young crocodile.

The musquitoes are not troublesome in the Cape Town, though the sand-flies and others are very much so. The white ant, commonly called the termite here, infests the fields and open country; they build their nests in the ground, casting up pyramids of earth from three to six feet high, of a consistence so solid as to be impenetrable to every thing but a pick-axe.

In the vicinity of the Cape, there are several fields planted with vines, well fenced in and bounded by hedges of low oak trees, myrtle, quince, and others of the shrub kind, to keep off deer and cattle, and shelter the fruit from the violence of the winds. The fields are also laid out into lesser divisions with hedges, and the vines are planted and brought up in

those spaces in regular rows or ridges, like drills of potatoes or beans in Europe. One or two particular species only are suffered to grow up and spread out their branches, and these produce the grapes used at table, or dried for raisins. These are usually planted against the walls; the shoots form pretty arbours and shades before the windows, or over the porches of the doors. The wines made at the Cape are of various qualities, and are called Constantia, Muscadel, Mosselle, Cape Madeira, Vin de Grave, and Rhenish; but from the mode of the Dutch in manufacturing the grape, they are supposed to be very defective compared with the wines in Europe. The Cape wine has one good effect on the body, by keeping it open; however, a constant and free use of it irritates the bowels. The sweet, luscious, and excellent wine, called *Constantia*, so highly esteemed in Europe, is only made at the village which bears its name. Here are two distinct and separate plantations of vines, each of a different colour and quality, though both are called Constantia wines. The farm called Great Constantia, produces red wine, and the Lesser Constantia the white. The grapes of this part are larger, and have a more rich and fleshy pulp, than those of any other farm; however, there must be many parts of the soil equally as well adapted to the rearing of grapes as Constantia, though hitherto overlooked from negligence.

Besides the various wines, the farmers make a great quantity of a strong fiery spirit, which they call brandy wine, and which has been generally sold to the unfortunate Hottentots and others in the interior. It is so fiery, that when the English soldiers first came to the Cape, they could scarcely get a glass of it down. Though barley is produced at the Cape, the Dutch seldom made beer, and what they did brew was of a very indifferent quality. The malt liquor drank by people in easy circumstances at the Cape

generally comes from Europe, and is of course very dear.

The manners, habits, and dispositions of the Dutch boors, will perhaps require more than one generation to change. They have been described as a race entirely distinct from those of the more civilized part of the colony; and the difference between the country Dutch, as they are called, and those in Cape Town, has long been obvious. Though the former have among them whatever can make life comfortable, they never enjoy those blessings. The boor, who has oxen in abundance, seldom uses any for food; milk and butter overflow with him, yet he seldom tastes them; wine, which is so cheap, so easily procured, where almost every farm grows it, he rarely or never drinks. His house is poor, mean, and incommodious. The rooms are dirty and smoky; the walls covered with spiders, and their webs of an enormous size; the articles of furniture are but few, and perhaps consist of an old table, two or three broken chairs, a few plates and kitchen utensils, which, with a couple of large chests, generally comprise the whole. Indifferent bread and vegetables, stewed in sheep's fat, are their usual fare; and when they eat meat, messes of mutton are served up in grease; this luxury they devour in great quantities, generally bolting it down. Smoking all the morning, and sleeping after dinner, constitute the great luxury of the boor; for being unwilling to work himself, he lords it over his slaves and hired Hottentots, and at a middling age is perhaps carried off by a dropsy, or some disease contracted by indolence and gluttony.

The women pass a lazy, listless life. After having regaled herself with a cup of tea for breakfast, the mistress of the house sits at her ease in a corner till the next meal-time. Little of female delicacy is expected to be seen about her; a coarse loose dress, thrown over her shoulders, leaves many parts of the

person uncovered. Of beauty these females can rarely boast; they generally go barefooted, and their feet are washed by the male as well as the female slaves; nor do they make any ceremony of having this office performed before strangers. No amusement varies the scene with them, but one day is like all the rest in the year. It is not unusual to see eight or nine children, all born within a year of each other, adding to the domestic comforts by squalling and domineering over those of the slaves; as the first false lesson they are taught is their superiority over the unfortunate Africans. (*See Plate.*)

The men are clumsy, stout-made, morose, illiterate, and truly ignorant; as few indeed have any idea of education, notwithstanding they affect to be strenuously religious, and that it is a practice with them to be continually chanting hymns and psalms, and that before meals they uniformly use a long prayer or grace. Some villages, it is true, have a schoolmaster; but this man is obliged to labour as well as to teach, and is kept chiefly for the purpose of keeping their petty accounts, or writing their letters. Their children are bred up little better than their slaves, as the greatest part of their education is to learn to crack whips, drive waggons, shoot, &c., and perhaps barely to read and write a little. The avarice of these boors is in fact so great as often to disappoint their own objects; they do not even allow the calves a sufficient quantity of milk to rear them strong and healthy, so eager are they to make butter, and turn it into ready money. The blindness of these people to their own interests, has called forth repeated observations of surprise. Any stranger, noticing "the innumerable local advantages which the colony possesses, and the infinite means of becoming opulent and comfortable, which nature holds out to the inhabitants, cannot but express regret that so fruitful a portion of the globe *should be assigned* to those so little capable of esti-



Dutch Dwarf

Painted by the celebrated Artist M. J. P. de Meijer, Esq.



Wife of a Dutch Dwarf

Painted by the celebrated Artist M. J. P. de Meijer, Esq.



rating its value." Under the British government, no doubt, these things will in a short time be only remembered as such that have been. In fact, the great benefit of water-carriage from one part of the colony to another, always resisted by the Dutch government, has already produced singular improvement under the English. Butter, corn, and wine, used to be considerably dearer at Cape Town, being conveyed in waggons, instead of being put on board large boats, sloops, and coasting vessels, at the different harbours, or mouths of rivers, which run into the sea from many parts of the interior. Under this system the planters had to re-purchase part of their own timber in a manufactured state; such as wrought timber for casks, waggons, and other articles. The planter, in like manner, used to be obliged to take them to and from Cape Town, to have iron work put to them; but all these things now will be done by mechanics distributed about the country, to the manifest advantage of themselves and their employers. Manufactories, of which there has been a great want, will now be completely established in the neighbourhood of the markets: and the wool, which used to be thrown away, or given to slaves and Hottentots, may be made into coarse cloths, blankets, rugs, stockings, which will clothe the planters and their people comfortably. The hemp, that grows abundantly, may also be wrought into sail-cloth, canvass bags, and cordage. A great part of the ready money which the people at the Cape used to send out for the linen, woollen, and cotton goods, that they used to get from abroad, upon these a considerable tax was levied by government, besides the exorbitant price that was charged. Though the wool here is not by any means equal to ours, the people would be infinitely better clad with in than they have been. A farmer, for instance, possessing two or three thousand head of sheep, has been seen *almost naked, or with nothing about him but a pair*

of breeches, and a doublet made of leather, badly tanned, and equally as disagreeable to the smell as wretched to the eye. Children, and even young lads, were frequently left naked, unless they could contrive to stitch up those half-tanned sheep-skins into some kind of garments. The farmers and their people used to be obliged to make their own shoes, chairs, tables, beds, chests, &c., which scarcely deserved the name from their clumsiness and ill shape. These things now, more or less, employ a much greater number of people. Earthen-ware is also now introduced instead of wooden bowls; the greater part of the former used to be broken in the waggons that conveyed it from Cape Town into the country. It is also understood that from the vast quantity of silk-worms that might be raised here, silk itself might soon be rendered a valuable article.

The brutal and ferocious conduct of the stupid Dutch boors or farmers towards the Hottentots and Caffres, has frequently called forth the interference of the English to protect them. These people, about the neighbourhood of Graaf Reynet, had even behaved turbulently to their own government before the British arrived, and were the cause of disturbances that happened in Lord Macartney's time, and the early period of Sir George Young's government. These colonists, by successive encroachments, at length succeeded in driving the inhabitants from one part to another, till they forced them back into the wild uncultivated parts. In vain they complained at the Cape; those haughty Dutch boors, so far removed from the seat of government, disregarded its authority, and laughed at its orders. Lord Macartney, however, was not to be trifled with; he stationed a military force among them, which with some trouble reduced them to subjection. The hatred which these boors entertained against the English government for not sanctioning their unjustifiable conduct was extreme, and they had the address for

a time to instigate the deluded Hottentots and Caffres to acts of insubordination. Graaf Reynet possesses advantages, which, with proper management, will be of great use and benefit. This district has the means of supplying with provisions, not only Cape Town, but the casual demands of ships touching there.

The establishment which the Dutch East India Company had made on either side of the Cape of Good Hope, though originally confined to a small tract of the country, little more than the isthmus or peninsula, where the two great harbours of Table and False Bay are situated, has, by degrees, been so considerably increased as to extend upwards of five hundred miles from east to west, and nearly three hundred from north to south. In gaining possession of this territory, the Dutch, at first, chose the mode of purchase: Mr. Van Riebeck, a surgeon of one of their ships, made the greatest acquisitions in his way, from the truly patriotic view of rendering them useful to his country; for observing the excellent harbours at the south extremity of the Cape, he prevailed upon the natives to sell him the land contiguous, for a few articles of commerce, to the amount of four thousand pounds. The Dutch government had the generosity, for once, to confirm Mr. Riebeck's purchase, and granted him permission to traffic with the natives, and colonize the Cape. The Hottentots, being of a mild and tractable disposition, were at first well satisfied with their new guests, and by degrees easily reduced to servitude, and employed in the management of the cattle, and the cultivation of the soil. The Cape, when the Dutch first arrived, was capable of being made, by the simplest means, a populous and commercial colony; and though the richer spots seemed almost lost amidst the surrounding mountains and sandy deserts, the fertility of the intervening valleys must soon have shewn the colonists that there was *nothing desirable in any other quarter of the world*

which could not be produced here. Still, from the very first, the Dutch do not seem to have understood the advantages possessed by the different parts of the colony. The eastern side of the promontory and the interior parts are by far the richest, and capable of the highest cultivation. The unpromising nature of the soil in the south-west parts is, however, abundantly compensated by the harbours of False and Table Bay; but it was the policy of the Dutch, on account of their East India Company, to damp the spirit of improvement at the Cape, and also to prohibit the more distant colonists from transporting, under any pretext, their property or effects to Cape Town, &c., and coastwise. From the same motives of jealousy, the Dutch East India Company discouraged the discovery and working of any mines, either of copper or iron ore.

From the time that this India Company lost their influence and power, the Cape came under the cognizance of the governor of Batavia, and was, of course, considered as a part of the possessions of the United States of Holland; after which, though the population, &c., increased in the hands of the British government, affairs have assumed quite a new face. Slavery has been, in a great measure, abolished, and the people, under wholesome laws and regulations, will, in process of time, entirely shake off their habits of indolence. By the capitulation, when the Cape was surrendered to the British, as private property of all sorts was secured to the inhabitants, they could not deprive the latter of the slaves already in their possession, but no more have been suffered to be added to the number of these unfortunate people. Though, on our first coming, the Hottentots were led to believe us a race of cannibals, who would destroy them without mercy, a little knowledge and acquaintance with the character and conduct of Englishmen soon taught them to be disgusted with their late masters; and

when the Cape was given up, for a time, by the peace of Amiens, the Hottentots and slaves beheld the departure of the British troops with extreme sorrow. They even asked the English for arms and ammunition to drive the Dutch out. "We will give you," said they "the country if you stay; it is ours, and ours only; the Dutch have no right to any but a small territory round False and Table Bay." Many of the Hottentot soldiers wept, and shewed every symptom of the deepest regret, on parting with the English.

CHAP. III.

Mr. Barrow's Second Journey into the Interior—Missionaries—A Rambling Boor—The Orange River—Bojesmans—The Moravian Missionaries—Boshuana Country—Capital of Letakoo—Luxuries—Liberty and Slavery—The Barroloos.

OF Mr. Barrow's first journey from the Cape of Good Hope into the interior of Africa, in 1797, a circumstantial account has been given in volume xxi. of Mavor's *Voyages and Travels*, but his personal researches in his second journey, though not so ample in detail as the first, will not be found less interesting to the curious. Mr. Barrow, who left the Cape in October 1801, acted upon the orders of the English governor, who wished to know if a supply of cattle, then wanted, could be procured. Besides Mr. Somerville, the garrison surgeon, and Mr. Trutter, a member of the Cape judicature, the party consisted of a draughtsman, a secretary, and several Dutch boors, twenty-four Hottentots, and four slaves.

Pursuing a north-easterly direction towards the country of the Bojesmans, they now and then met a few stragglers belonging to this wretched nation, al-

ways in a state of the utmost want, and begging a little supply of food to keep them from starving. Through this unhappy tract of desert, the commissioners proceeded towards the Orange River. Their route was of course marked but by few incidents; however, the dulness of the journey was frequently enlivened by anecdotes of the lions and elephants that inhabit these districts, and of the hazardous adventures which the neighbouring colonists had at different times with these inhabitants of the deserts. Dutch settlers were also often met with, wandering from place to place to find some fixed habitation.

In the midst of so extensive and dreary a desert, the travellers were not a little surprised in meeting with a Dutch boor, of the name of Kok, who with a waggon, and his whole family, his slaves, his Hottentots, his cattle, and his sheep, was travelling leisurely from the Orange River towards the skirts of the colony. The disinclination of these people to establish themselves upon any particular spot, and to live in any sort of order, is very remarkable. To rove about the desert wilds of Africa; to harass and destroy the harmless natives, to feast on the game procured by his Hottentots, and to sleep and loiter away the day while jolting in his waggon, was to this Dutch boor among the most exquisite pleasures he was capable of enjoying. Through indolence and gluttony, from the effects of a good climate, and a free exposure to air, these people usually grow to a monstrous size.

On arriving at the Orange River, which is extremely large for such a course, being the union of two branches, each six hundred yards wide, the travellers found the Kora country, on the opposite bank, well peopled by a race of Hottentots, happy and rich in comparison with those Bojesmans whom they had seen in crossing the desert. There they had a *stationary abode*, and having abundance of water, were *much less filthy* than the rest of their race nearer the

shape. Their features too were superior, not being smeared with grease; and they possessed more activity and ingenuity. They lived entirely on the produce of their flocks, and on wild berries, &c., having no kind of agriculture among them. A few metallic ornaments which they had about their persons they obtained from the Caffres.

In pursuing their journey through the Kora country, the commissioners met with several missionaries, particularly Mr. Edwards and his family, and Mr. Kicherer, sent out by the London Society; the account the latter gave of the natives was, "That they took no great care of their children, and never correct them except in a fit of passion, when their severity is unbounded. In a quarrel between father and mother, or the several wives of a husband, the defeated party always wreak their vengeance on the child of the conqueror, sometimes at the expense of its life. The Bosjesmans kill their children without remorse on various occasions; for instance, if they are ill-shaped, or in great want of food; or when the father of a child has forsaken its mother, or when obliged to fly from the boors or others, in which cases they strangle them, cast them away in the desert, or bury them alive. They also frequently forsake their aged relatives, leaving the old persons with a small portion of food and an ostrich egg-shell full of water. As soon as this little stock is gone, the poor deserted creature must perish by hunger, or become the prey of wild beasts."

Such was the credulity of Mr. Kicherer, that he really believed that among these people there were parents who would "throw their tender offspring to the hungry lion who stands roaring before their cavern, refusing to depart till some peace-offering be made to him!" However, setting aside this absurd tale, it is evident on the face of the above statement, that the chief, and perhaps the sole, motive for destroying or

abandoning the helpless and the destitute, the infants and the aged, is extreme indigence. Without any covering to protect his body from the vicissitudes of the weather, without possessions or property of any kind, except his bow and his quiver of arrows, the Bosjesman exists from day to day on what the fortune of the chase may throw within his reach; on the few bulbous roots which the barren soil scantily supplies; on the eggs of ants and the larvæ of locusts; and when all these fail, he is glad to have recourse to toads, mice, snakes, and lizards. To satisfy the present craving of his stomach is his grand object; and this being sometimes accomplished to its full extent, he seems to enjoy a short-lived species of happiness, which either shews itself in an exhilaration of spirits, not unlike that which usually attends the first stage of intoxication, or throws him into a profound sleep. Among such a people it is not surprising that infants and aged persons should be left to perish. If the dread of pinching poverty and the horrors of absolute want, are sufficient to urge the civilized Chinese to the commission of infanticide on their own offspring, it is the less surprising that a similar, or a still more hopeless condition, should operate in the same way upon the more savage Bosjesman: human nature is every where the same. When the Moravian missionaries first landed in Labrador, the same inhuman practice, though with the most benevolent intention, prevailed among the natives, of putting to death the widows and the orphans. And here the superior advantages resulting from the system of the Moravians over that of other Christian missionaries, were most forcibly demonstrated. Instead of encouraging the natives in their rambling disposition from place to place, they laboured to fix them to one spot; instead of preaching to them the mysterious parts of the Gospel, *they instructed them in useful and industrious habits; instead of building a church, they erected a store-*

house. They caused this common store to be divided into as many compartments as there were families, leaving one at each end larger than the rest, to be appropriated solely to the use of the widows and the orphans ; and having taught them the process of salting and drying the fish caught in vast multitudes in the summer months, the produce was collected into this general depository to serve as a stock for the long and dismal winter which reigns in this inclement climate ; deducting, however, from the compartment of every family a tenth of the produce to be deposited in those of the widows and orphans. Their labours were crowned with complete success. From this time a provision was made sufficient to preserve these desolate and helpless creatures. Thus, as Mr. Barrow concludes, " the Moravian Society has been the means of converting the inhabitants of Labrador into useful citizens as well as good christians ; whilst the African Society has not reclaimed a single Bosjesman from the wild and savage state in which its zealous missionaries first discovered him."

From the Kora country the travellers proceeded in a north-easterly direction, to that of the Booshuanas or Bricquas, as some neighbouring tribes call them. The first thing that struck them, on entering this district, was the great fertility of the soil ; its abundance in useful vegetables, and in good springs of water, with the plenty of game which it contained. They arrived at the capital called Leetakoo, where the king resides, and were received by him with every token of hospitality and kindness. The city contains about 2,500 houses and upwards of 12,000 inhabitants. The houses are by no means regularly disposed ; each is built in a circular form, and surrounded with a palisade. They are thatched very well with reeds, and not inelegantly : they contain several apartments for the different branches of the family, who, however, live separately. For the sake of shade the

dwelling are generally placed under large mimosas, the leaves and twigs of which are carefully preserved from every injury. The inhabitants live much upon animal food procured by hunting, and on the milk of their cattle: they also cultivate a good deal of grain. In this work the chief part, if not the whole, seems to be thrown upon the women. The men occupy themselves in the chase, and in preparing skins for clothing, and in the care of the dairy of the tame cattle. The degree of civilization to which this nation has attained, may best be estimated from the following account of their comforts and luxuries:—

The *Booshuanas* are not satisfied with the necessities of life, supplied to them abundantly from the sources of agriculture, grazing, and hunting. Their skin cloaks for the winter are pliant, soft, and warm, being frequently lined with the fur of tiger-cats, *river-ras*, and other small animals. When they go without clothing in summer, they rarely expose themselves to the rays of the sun, but carry umbrellas, made of the broad feathers of the ostrich, fixed to the end of a stick. They vary their mode of dressing both animal food and grain; occasionally broiling, boiling, or roasting the former, and simply bruising the latter into flour, and boiling it up with milk. Among the luxuries of the appetite, tobacco seems to stand in the highest estimation. Both the men and the women are passionately fond of drawing the smoke of this narcotic herb through water, usually poured into the horn of the cow or the elland, through the side of which the tube of the tobacco-pipe is inserted. They are equally fond of snuff. This article here is composed of a variety of stimulant plants, dried and rubbed into dust, which is usually mixed with wood ashes: of this mixture they take a quantity in the palm of the hand, and draw it into the nostrils through a quill or reed, till the tears trickle down their cheeks. Children, of four or five years of age, may be seen taking snuff.



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in this manner. Their bodies they carefully ornament with devices, painted with white pipe-clay and red ochre. Their hair they sometimes cut in a peculiar manner, leaving a high tuft on the crown of the head, to which is frequently appended the tail of a hare, or a distended bladder of this or some other small animal; or the wings of the Numidian crane are fixed erect on each side of the head. A triangular plate of copper is almost invariably suspended from one ear, and the teeth and claws of lions and leopards are worn as necklaces. To these spoils of the chase the men add rings of ivory, cut from the elephant's tusk, round the upper part of the arm. The women wear thongs of leather round their legs and arms; sometimes plain and sometimes decorated with bits of copper. Every man had a knife slung about the neck by a leather thong, and fitted into a scabbard. The blade is generally about six inches long, an inch broad, rounded at the end, and brought to an edge on each side; the handle sometimes of wood and sometimes of ivory; in the latter case, it is generally carved into the shape of the elephant's proboscis. The party had with them a quantity of common knives, intended for barter, but the *Booshuanas* held them very cheap, observing that their own were, at least, twice as good, because they were made to cut with two edges, whereas those of the white people only cut with one. The knife, in fact, is so useful an instrument to such as live by the chase and on roots, that it may almost be considered as an article of the first necessity, and is valued accordingly. A *Booshuana* is accounted wealthy according to the number of cattle, knives, and beads, he may possess; these are the money and the currency of Lectakoo.

The government of Lectakoo is of a patriarchal kind, the chief, king, or ruler, uses his personal authority with the tribe over which he presides. He ~~names~~ his successor; and, on occasions of importance,

consults the elders, who give him their own sentiments, and communicate to him those of the people. It appears that they have no system of religious institution, no form of public worship, and scarcely any notions of religion have been traced among them; though it is said that they circumcise their male children, and dance in a circle the whole night of the new moon; the whole of this may be ascribed to other motives besides those of religion.

Mr. Barrow observes, that "to know that such societies as these he has just described, exist in this miserable quarter of the world, must be peculiarly interesting to those who have long been exerting their eloquence and their influence to meliorate the condition of the suffering part of Africa." The existence of these free and happy societies furnish a complete refutation of an opinion that has been industriously circulated, and is, unfortunately, but too prevalent, namely, that slavery is the unalterable lot of the sable African; and that it would still exist as it always has done, even were Europeans to discontinue their abominable traffic. Such an opinion, in justification of a crime against humanity, is just on a level with that of a Dutch boor, who told Governor Jansen, on remonstrating with him on his cruelty towards the Hottentots, "that there could be no harm in mal-treating those heathens, as the women evidently carried about them the mark which God set upon Cain." But the fact is, that not one of the tribes of natives, between the Cape of Good Hope and the extreme point that has hitherto been discovered in the interior of Southern Africa, not a single creature, from the needy and savage Bosjesman to the more civilized *Booshuana*, have the most distant idea of the state of slavery. On the contrary, they have all been found in the full possession and enjoyment of unbounded freedom. There is no compulsion used among these people to oblige an individual to remain even in the horde to which

he belongs, contrary to his inclination, being always at liberty to depart with his property and join another society that may suit him better. Even in war, the only booty is the cattle of the enemy.

How far to the northward the country continues to be inhabited by free Caffre tribes, remains yet to be determined; but the extent, it is to be feared, is not very great. It appears that the Portuguese slave-merchants have at length effected a communication across the continent, from Mosambique to their settlements of Congo and Loango, on the opposite coast; from which it may be inferred, that the line of slavery extends, at least, as far to the southward as the twentieth degree on the eastern, and to the fifteenth or sixteenth on the western coast. It is probable, however, that in the central parts of Southern Africa, the land of freedom may stretch much beyond the parallels where slavery prevails on the coast. The *Barroloos*, from the above account, cannot be placed to the southward of the tropic of Capricorn; and it is not very probable that a nation having made such progress as they are represented to have done, should border immediately on a nation of slaves. Thus, though Soffala, Mosambique, Quiloa, and Melinda, on the eastern coast, and Congo, Loango, Benguela, and Angola, on the western, have been doomed to all the evils and horrors of slavery, it may yet be possible that the *Biri* and *Baroras* of the charts, in the heart of the continent, may be a continuation of the same free and happy people as the *Booshuanas* and *Barroloos*, the former of whom extend easterly even to the bay of De la Goa, where the Portuguese have in vain attempted to introduce among them a traffic for slaves. Luckily for the Caffre nation, neither the Portuguese, nor the Cape boors on the other side, have yet been able to convince them, that one set of men ought to be sold like cattle, for the pleasure and profit of another.

The real improvement of the *Barroloos* will further appear as we proceed. After residing some time at the Leekatoo capital, the commissioners made a tour through several districts of the Booshuana country, and visited a number of other towns. Every where they found the same orderly, innocent, and happy people. But it is very much to be lamented that these commissioners suffered themselves to be deterred from proceeding into the country of the *Barroloos*, lying to the north of the Booshuanas. To this neglect they were persuaded by the representations of the king of Lectakoo, who appears to have prevented their journey from motives of policy. Afterwards, when it was too late to return, they found they had been imposed upon; and that the *Barroloos* were the best disposed, and most hospitable of all the African tribes, much more numerous and civilized than the *Booshuanas*, more wealthy and ingenious. They were said to have made no small progress in the arts; to have furnaces for smelting copper and iron; to be skilful in carving hard woods and ivory; to have one city so large, that it was a day's journey to walk through it: all this was information that came too late, otherwise the commissioners certainly would not have stopped short of this interesting country when they were only within two days' march of it.

They returned nearly by the same routes by which they had proceeded, and reached the Cape in safety about the middle of April, 1809, having been absent on this perilous expedition upwards of six months.

CHAP. IV.

M. Lichtenstein's route—African waggon-drivers—The Berg Valley—Elephant's River—Bosjesman physiognomy—Ostriches—A Phenomenon—Moravian Settlement—Great Fish River—Van der Kemp—Language of the Caffres—The Koosas—Fertile Soil—Mode of making War—Bethelsdorf—Person of Mr. Van der Kemp—A Dutch Boor's House.

PREVIOUS to any selection from the travels of Professor Lichtenstein and his friends, who, like Mr. Barrow, made the south of Africa the scene of their excursions, it may be necessary to remark, that after the restoration of the Cape of Good Hope to the Dutch, at the peace of Amiens, it was thought proper that the Commissary-general De Mist, should make a tour through the colony, which he accordingly set out upon, in 1803. The expedition consisted of about eighteen people, among whom were the daughter of the commissary, Augusta De Mist, with a female friend from Cape Town; Dr. Lichtenstein and his pupil, the eldest son of General Jansen, &c., a number of servants, and a party of dragoons, made up a suitable retinue for a magistrate of the first rank.

They began their journey about the 9th of October, answering in point of season to the same day in April in our hemisphere, and directed their course northward along the western coast. From thence their route was to take a direction inland toward the south-east, and to proceed as far as the eastern boundary of the colony, a distance of more than five hundred miles. This line of march is almost the longest, and nearly the most interesting that the colony affords.

Travelling in waggons, drawn by oxen, is peculiar to this country, and the skill acquired by the drivers is a strong proof of what practice and necessity can accomplish, in the most unfavourable circumstances. All the address of our European coachmen vanishes entirely before the superior dexterity of the African colonists. In a very brisk trot, or even a gallop, they are perfect masters of eight oxen, and avoid, with the utmost precision, every hole and every stone on the road.

The route of our travellers led them by the shores of Saldanha Bay, on the west side of the promontory, the finest and largest harbour in southern Africa. An idea may be formed of the scale on which the solitary and extensive farms are laid out here, from what is stated of one on the side of the Berg river, where the party of the commissary-general halted in its way from the coast inland : " We found the house of Mr. Laubscher looking very indifferently, as to the exterior, but comfortable within ; while the number and size of the out-buildings, sufficiently showed our host to be a man of no inconsiderable wealth." He supported a sort of patriarchal household, consisting of 80 horses, 690 head of horned cattle, 2,470 sheep, with an immense quantity of poultry of all kinds. The family itself, including masters, servants, Hottentots and slaves, consisted of 105 persons, whose subsistence was derived from the farm.

It is proper to observe, that all the handicraft works necessary for the farm here, are performed by the slaves ; and that the principal dwelling is surrounded by workshops of every kind. It may be easily comprehended, that the master himself, who has such an extensive household to look after, cannot lead a life of the supine indolence described by some authors. Here Lichtenstein blames Barrow, for his accusations against the African colonists, and particularly his charge of extreme sloth and inactivity.

"I could not," says he, "but daily ask myself whether these men were the same African colonists which some travellers have represented as such barbarians, and more than half savages; so much did I find in contradiction to such statements."

The scenery on this west side of the promontory, from the fantastic shapes which the progress of decay has given to the sand-stone rocks, is singular. From the first entry of the party into the Berg valley, they observed they had been impressed with strong admiration of the objects they met with. Passing through a ravine, the bold grandeur of this scene raised their astonishment to the highest pitch. Enormous masses of sand-stone were seen towering one above another, till they appeared to touch the sky. They ran nearly in parallel directions from north to south; while here and there their regularity was interrupted by broken masses, the clefts of which were overgrown with plants that almost seemed to rise out of the solid stone. These walls, nearly perpendicular on their right and left, though they had braved the ravages of time for thousands of years, naturally impressed the travellers with the idea of their falling, and crushing them to atoms. The way through this ravine was, however, a constant ascent; and when they arrived at the top, and looked back upon the narrow pass they had quitted, the ruins of a former world appeared to lie in confusion at their feet.

The same state of the sand-stone rock is described by Mr. Barrow, and seems to prevail all along the western shore of Southern Africa; he also noticed the castellated and spicular appearance of the ruins of this sand-stone. An extensive range of the same kind, was likewise observed by M. Bouger, on the eastern declivity of the Andes.

On leaving the ravine, the party, with Dr. Lichtenstein, came to the Elephant's river; which, like the Berg river, running at first north, and a little west,

turns off to the west altogether, and falls into the sea. Where they crossed, it was about two feet deep, and 100 feet broad. It was a great way at the foot of the narrow mountains; a range that extends for many miles nearly parallel with the coast. This ridge they found of very difficult ascent, and the road frequently obstructed by large blocks of slate, which here occupies the place of sand-stone.

Among these mountains, the party having separated from the waggons, lost their way, and for thirty-two hours had nothing to eat or drink; nothing during the day to shelter them from the scorching heat of the sun; and nothing but a boundless and inhospitable wilderness to contemplate. They passed the night on the side of the Doorn river, at a place, infested, as they afterwards learnt, with scorpions; from which danger they probably escaped, by the influence of the cold, which was so considerable, as to be within three degrees of frost, according to Reaumur's scale; and thus kept the scorpions in their holes. M. Lichtenstein does not let slip this occasion of doing justice to the ladies, whose fortitude and good humour never deserted them; nor did they at any other time, yield to the vexations, hardships and dangers, which, in a tour of many months, they could not fail, almost daily, to encounter. The most northerly point of their tour was in the *Hantam* district, on the side of a small river of that name, which runs westward, and joins the Elephant's river, where it leaves its northern direction, and turns westward to the ocean. There are here many good springs. The people are more active, move more briskly, and are not so corpulent and unwieldy, as in the southern parts. This is ascribed to the greater temperance of the climate.

Soon after their arrival in this quarter, several families of the neighbourhood made their appearance; some in waggons, some on horseback, attracted by curiosity, to see a magistrate, high in office, &

haps for once in their whole lives. Every one brought with him some present of game, or other things for the table; which were not more thankfully received, than they were courteously given. Nor could the party help being once more surprised, to see so much natural good breeding and civility, among people living at so great a distance from the capital. That, however, which pleased most, in the good people of the Hantam district, was the amenity of disposition which appeared in them towards one another; and this was the first place where the magistrate had not been called upon to decide differences among the inhabitants. When the travellers quitted the district of Hantam, they bent their course south-east towards the Roggeveld mountains, an elevated tract, where a considerable degree of cold often prevails.

The farm, at which they halted, is called *Hartebeest Fontein*, a fertile spot, abounding in food for cattle. The farmer was in possession of more than 3,000 sheep, goats, and horses. A nice neat young wife, and five stout healthy children, seemed to complete his happiness. The cold in this district is pretty severe at night. In the winter months, deep snows sometimes fall; when, in order to preserve the cattle, they remove them to the neighbouring *Karoo*, a great valley on the south side of the mountains upon a lower level. The climate of this mountainous district has undergone a considerable change. Old people recollected that, about fifty years ago, the superabundance of water, even in the middle of summer, was such, that, at times, the nearest neighbours could not approach each other, on account of the rivers being out and having entirely flooded the valleys. At that time, a week seldom passed, even in the hottest months, without thunderstorms, that brought with them a profusion of rain. Of late

years, whole summers have passed away, without the occurrence of a storm.

Their road eastward, carried them into *Middle Roggeveld*, a high and rugged country, without trees, but with extensive pastures scattered through it. From the want of wood, and the enormous expense it would be to procure timber from other places, the houses here are mean, and have little convenience. The travellers found hardly any bread, but plenty of animal food. The ordinary extent of a farm in this quarter, is said to be not less than 30,000 acres.

In Roggeveld, as they were sitting in the house of one of the colonists, at dinner, they were surprised by the entrance of two Bosjesmens, or woodmen, who having heard that one of the principal magistrates of the colony was in the neighbourhood, came, in hopes of receiving some presents. They approached the company with considerable symptoms of apprehension and embarrassment; but a glass of wine, and looks of kindness, soon inspired them with confidence. They were of very small stature, not more than four feet high; and the yellow colour of their skin was discernible but in very few places, as a thick coat of grease and dirt covered their faces and meagre limbs, like a rind. A wild, shy, suspicious eye, and crafty expression of countenance, form, above all things, a striking contrast in the Bosjesman, with the frank, open physiognomy of the Hottentot. It is a mistake, Lichtenstein says, to assert, as has often been done, that the nation of Bosjesmans is composed of fugitive slaves and Hottentots. They are, he says, and ever have been, a distinct people; having their own peculiar language and customs, if these terms may be applied to their utterance, which is hardly articulate. He says positively, that the *Bosjesmans* have no names, and seem not to feel the want of such means of distinguishing one individual

from another. No Hottentot understands a word of the Bosjesman language; and the nation was hated by all others, for its habits, long before the Europeans settled in Southern Africa.

The uniformity of the road, as they traversed this uninteresting wilderness, was once or twice agreeably interrupted by some flocks of ostriches, which came tolerably near, before they perceived the travellers. They then fled in haste, crowding close together, and running against the wind; and an eye, unaccustomed to such a sight, might have easily mistaken them for a squadron of horse. To the right were some stragglers, so far from the main body, that the travellers thought they might be able to cut off one of them, by surrounding him on all sides, mounted as they were on horseback. Two of the dragoons endeavoured to stop his way, presenting themselves directly before him, and striking at him with their sabres. By this manœuvre they got a complete sight of this gigantic figure, which, raising his head as high as he could stretch it above the rider, pushed forward, and evading the stroke of the sabre, escaped safe. The Africans condemned the rashness of this attempt very much, and said, that if the ostrich, in its hurry, had given any of them a slap with its powerful wing, the fracture of a leg, or an arm, would have been an almost certain consequence.

The highest point of the desolate mountain-plain, where they were, is one of the most elevated in this part of Africa, and is reckoned about 2,000 feet higher than the Table Mountain; or 5,300 above the level of the sea. The cold here was very severe, and the tents in which they slept, were, in the morning, covered with hoar frost. From this they looked down upon the great Karroo below, into which they were now to descend. The word *Karroo* is of Hottentot extraction, and is applied to a kind of plain, that, we believe, occurs no where but in this part of Africa.

It is an extensive and elevated tract, surrounded by high mountains, and destined, in the course of every year, to exemplify the extremes of fertility and desolation; fruitfulness and barrenness; the first in the depth of winter, the second during all the other months. The desolate appearance which this plain presented to our travellers, when they first came in sight of it, and viewed it from the mountains on the north, was very impressive.

Their view far to the south, was bounded by a chain of lofty hills; the space between being occupied by the great *Karoo*, a parched and arid plain, stretching to such an extent, that the vast hills which bound it, are almost lost in the distance. The beds of numberless little rivers cross this enormous space, like veins, in a thousand directions. The course of these, might, in some places, be clearly distinguished, by the dark green of the mimosas, which spread along their banks. Excepting these, no where, as far as the eye could reach, was a tree to be seen; no, nor even a shrub; nowhere any signs of vegetation, nor a point on which the eye could dwell with pleasure. The two ridges which enclose this plain, stretch across the African continent from east to west, parallel to one another, and to the southern coast. It is bounded by mountains, also, on the east and west. The streams that cross, descend from the northern chain, and traversing the *Karoo*, issue through the valleys of the southern chain; so that the plain is not level, but inclines to the south. The length of it is reckoned sixty geographic miles, fifteen to a degree; and its breadth from fifteen to twenty. The *Karoo* is by no means a smooth and flat surface, as it has been sometimes described. In the midst of it are some considerable hills, which are not remarked, *only* because they come in comparison with the *lofty mountains* on the other side. These hills are of *slate*; there are large spaces, however, between some

of them, of the extent of thirty or forty square miles, of which the surface is perfectly level. The soil is sand mixed with clay, and contains a good deal of iron, as appears, from its yellow or ochry colour. This coat of soil is so thin, that, on digging a foot below the surface, they come to a hard and impenetrable stone. As soon as the cool season and the rains which accompany it set in, the plants lodged in this dry bed of earth begin to shoot, and so rapid is the progress of vegetation, that in a few days this barren waste is covered with verdure. By and by thousands of flowers enamel the whole surface; and the air is filled with the most fragrant odour. Thus the desert is transformed, as by magic, into one continued garden of flowers. The colonist, descending from the snowy mountains, finds a plentiful supply of food for the flocks and herds which accompany him; while the troops of the ostrich and the antelope, driven in like manner from the high country, share in the repast, and feed secure from the lion, the tiger, and the hyena, in fields where there is no hole or cavern where these depredators can conceal themselves.

But this scene of plenty and security is destined to vanish almost as quickly as it arose; its average duration does not exceed a month. As the day lengthens the power of the sun soon checks a vegetation supported by so shallow a soil; the streams dry up, the springs hardly flow, and before the end of September, the Karroo is again reduced to a solitary desert. The clay is rent by a thousand cracks; and the hard red soil is covered with a brown dust formed from the dried and withered plants.

When Lichtenstein passed over this Karroo with his party, on their way to the south, the dry season was far advanced, and the plain was in the most desolate state; *they were two days and two nights, (during one of which they continued their journey),*

in going over it. In their way they traversed one of the principal branches of the *Great River*, which then only contained here and there a pool of brackish water. On the morning of the third day, they began to ascend into the high country of *Bokkereld's Poort*: the sun arose just as they reached a scene capable of displaying the effects of light and shade, and their minds, by the absence of every thing beautiful or picturesque during the last three days, were prepared to enjoy a scene that opened on them. The night preceding this day had been spent in watching and travelling over a dreary desert; but now, as if by a magical transformation, they found themselves in the mild twilight of a contracted valley, the living vegetation of which formed a fine contrast with the dry, barren, and boundless plain they had left.

On advancing a little farther, they arrived at the house of the colonist where they were to halt, surrounded by orchards and corn-fields; hard by was a little wood of old oaks, and lofty poplars, and close to it ran a clear stream of excellent water. The beauties of the *Oases* in another part of Africa, which the ancients so much delighted in describing, could not be more heightened by the horrors of a surrounding wilderness than this.

This country is surrounded by high mountains; and it is called the Cold Bokkeveld. The snow lies in winter to the depth of several inches, and the inhabitants are glad to retire to the Karroo. Oranges, lemons, peaches, figs, &c., are the fruits principally cultivated, and they are finer flavoured than in any other part of the colony. Even apples and pears grow here; and it is the only spot where cherries are produced. All European woods are tougher and harder here than in any other part of Southern Africa, as they have more rest in the winter, and do not come *again* into leaf so immediately as elsewhere. The country on the other side of the Karroo, as well as

the Karroo itself, seemed entirely based on masses of slate; whereas the Cold Bokkeveld is composed of granite hills, mixed with layers of sand-stone, intersected by deep valleys.

A phenomenon in geology occurred in their route to the south-east at the Schurfedeberg, a branch that runs off from the chain of the Nardow mountain. This mountain presents the appearance of a high *over-shelving wall*, and continues to run unbroken for three Dutch miles and a half, or sixteen English. Its inclination is every where the same, about 60 degrees, rising towards the west. Over the whole length of this flat surface, there is not the least appearance of vegetation; it looks like the roof of a house washed clean by the rain, and every where of a dismal dark-grey hue. The top of this wall is about 300 feet above the valley at its foot. The manner of ascending or getting across it is not less singular.

The party travelled along the foot of this mountain a full half hour before they reached the passage by which it was to be ascended. Some force, beyond all comprehension, has here made a vast rent in the enormous mass of stone, and opened a way five or six hundred feet wide, through which the road is made. The ascent through this cliff was difficult, especially in the lower part, where it narrowed, but was still less formidable than many they had passed. In less than half an hour they reached the top, and then descended on the opposite side into a little plain richly carpeted with green. On looking back they were then presented with the western side of the Schurfedeberg, which, from its extreme ruggedness, appeared as inaccessible on one side as the other, from its steep, flat, and unbroken surface.

The district of *Roodzeand* was that into which the party had now advanced, and as their course had been south-east, *they had come considerably nearer to Cape Town.* Here M. Lichtenstein observed more

marks of civilization than in the more distant colonies ; the people were more active and industrious. But both their happiness and morals, he remarks, have been injured not a little by the intrusion of a swarm of missionaries, and a great degree of bigotry, which has very much changed the frankness of character, the cheerfulness and good will to one another, which were formerly so prevalent. Music and dancing are entirely banished ; and under the conduct of his spiritual guides, the African here is curtailed of a number of his innocent enjoyments. " The favourite doctrine now is that every man should apply himself to the salvation of his own soul, which he is to work out, not by just or upright conduct, but by faith and self abasement."

Happily another branch of Christian missionaries, furnish an excellent contrast to those gloomy characters. Here we must refer to the United Brethren, or, as they are also called, Moravians : their settlement on the banks of the river *Zonder End* (Endless River), was visited by Lichtenstein and his friends. It is at a place called Bavian's Kloof where this meritorious establishment was formed. It may be traced as far back as 1737 : but little seems to have been done till 1794, when three of the United Brethren from Holland or Germany settled in these parts. By order of the Dutch East India company, this spot was granted for the establishment of a little colony ; and in a short time the Moravians collected a considerable number of bastards and Hottentots, whom they instructed in the Christian religion, at the same time endeavouring to inspire them with habits of industry. At first the jealousy of the colonists seems to have been excited by this most inoffensive and laudable institution, and to have produced excesses highly to be reprobated.

The whole description of this establishment will be read with pleasure by those who take delight in the

improvement of the species. The instruction of the Hottentots is the object of the institution, and is begun by teaching them some useful handicraft. A house has been appropriated to the manufacture of knives, and one of the brethren is the director of it. Four Hottentots are thus employed, and the business begins to be profitable. In order to form a just estimate of the worth of the excellent men who conduct this institution, their manner of treating the Hottentots should be seen. The mildness, yet dignity, with which they instruct them, and the effect already produced in improving the condition of these uncivilized men is truly admirable : and the more so as it is done without violence or even harshness. The highest reward of industry and good behaviour is to be baptized, and received into the society. Though the Dutch government has been very friendly to this institution, its main support is from the Moravian brethren in Europe. This little society, Lichtenstein was informed, had received no less than 25,000 dollars from Europe in the course of eleven years. So large a sum, given for a purpose so salutary, and from motives so disinterested, is rarely to be met with in the world. Of all who have attempted to teach Christianity to barbarous and savage nations, the judgment and good sense of the Moravian Brethren ought to place them in the first rank.

The commissary-general and his party continuing their route south-east towards the coast, passed through Zwellendam, a little town in the midst of this great pastoral country, and the seat of a landroost or deputy-governor. There are a good many artists here, such as smiths and carpenters, and some degree of opulence prevails, as this town is on the road from the Cape Town to the eastern part of the colony. It is pleasantly situated and well watered, a circumstance *never to be omitted in speaking of a place in Africa, where this advantage is so seldom enjoyed.* The *land is very fertile, except when the crop suffers from*

a want of rain, which often happens in this quarter of the globe.

They experienced in this part of their journey a remarkable instance of the *mirage*, which presented them with a view of the sea and the sea-coast, when they were distant from the latter six German miles ! They were at that time on the top of a hill, a place where the mirage does not usually appear. It was between nine and ten in the morning. The sun was about 50 degrees above the horizon, and seen through a cloud : the heat was 66° of Fahrenheit, and it was almost a calm, with an appearance of rain, but none of the sky to be seen. In these circumstances they saw what they imagined to be the sea ; but what, after a great deal of doubt, was pronounced not to be so, from the unevenness of the horizon. Dr. Lichtenstein supposes this was produced by the reflection of the sea coast, and of the sea itself, from some clouds hanging over them.

The coast, on which they soon after arrived, is known by the name of *Mossel Bay*, to which Vasco de Gama gave the name of the Bay of St. Blaise, when he landed there in 1497. Near the cape of St. Blaise is a cave in a high cliff ; the foot of it is washed by the sea, which though 400 feet above the high-water mark, is entirely overspread with a thick layer of muscle-shells. The breadth of this cave is about twenty paces, the depth half as much, and the height about fifty. In another cave, about fifty feet higher, there are no shells. It is certainly a curious question how these shells came into the place in which they are now found. Lichtenstein thinks the Hottentots brought them, they having lived very much on shell-fish. Barrow remarks, many thousand waggon-loads of shells may be met with in situations several hundred feet above the level of the sea along this coast.

They proceeded from this spot to the Great Fish River, which divides the colony from the country of the Caffres. The various tribes of this great nation,

are very distinct in form and external appearance from their neighbours. They are taller, stronger, and better proportioned; their colour brown; their hair black and woolly. They have the thick lips of the negro, and the high cheek-bones of the Hottentot. Their beards are black, and much fuller than those of the Hottentots. They have a greater resemblance to Europeans than either to negroes or Hottentots; and this is particularly observable in the form of the bones of the face, and in the shape of the skull. They are at the same time distinguishable at first glance by their colour and their woolly hair.

The men of the Koosa tribe, which Lichtenstein describes from his own knowledge, are tall, from five feet six, to five feet nine inches high; and some, like their king Gaika, are considerably taller. The skull of the Caffre is highly arched; his eye lively; his nose sufficiently prominent; and his teeth of the most brilliant whiteness. He carries himself very upright; his step is quick and firm; and his whole exterior denotes strength and spirit. The women are very handsome, but much smaller than the men. A very smooth soft skin, beautiful teeth, pleasing features, expressive of cheerfulness and good-nature, and a slender form, make them exceedingly attractive even in the eyes of a European. The Caffres believe in an invisible Being; but they have no name for him, and pay him no worship. They have, however, the strongest persuasion of the existence of sorcery, enchantment, and soothsaying. Indeed, there are among them persons who employ themselves entirely in these arts, and who hold in some degree the rank of priests. All the missionaries, accordingly, who have come into the country, have been considered as magicians and conjurors. One of them, the late M. Vander Kemp, a man of uncommon austerity and self-denial, who lived on the eastern part of the colony, was among the first who endeavoured to preach the doctrines of

Christianity to the Caffres. Once when a great drought prevailed, the queen-mother sent to him to say, that if he did not bring them rain in three days, he should be considered as an enemy, and treated accordingly. Vander Kemp had often talked to them of prayer, and of God inclining his ear to them; so that they had no doubt of his interest with the Supreme Being, quite sufficient to procure rain if he chose to exert it. It so happened that rain fell within the time the queen appointed; but he was only applied to with the more eagerness the next time rain was wanted, as they said they were now convinced by *experience* that the thing was entirely in his power. Not being always equally fortunate, he was at last obliged to fly; and if Gaika, the king, had not favoured his escape, being more enlightened and more tolerant than his subjects, Vander Kemp would certainly have fallen a victim to the high opinion entertained of his influence with the Deity.

“ It is indeed curious to observe how a nation of bold, active, and independent savages, with so few wants to supply, and such abundant means of supplying them, is bound down and enslaved by ignorance and credulity. The same savage, who in the morning does not reflect that he is ever again to want the protection of the garment which sheltered him from the cold of the night, consults the magician about the issue of a disease or a battle, and trembles at his answer. The same Caffre, who with his *hasagai* attacks the living elephant, and often triumphs over his sagacity and strength, becomes afraid in his turn, and uses many charms and incantations to avert the evils that may arise from the anger of the dead animal.”

The language of the Caffres is soft, harmonious, and full toned; their pronunciation slow and articulate, without the clattering sound of the Hottentots. They have many different dialects; but the most dis-

tant tribes are said to understand one another. Lichtenstein has subjoined a very copious vocabulary of words from the language of the Koosas, the tribe nearest the colony. These people have in their pronunciation a small degree of the *clatter*, which is not known among the other Caffre tribes, and is probably borrowed from the Hottentots. Their numerals go no farther than ten; and of these the eighth seems wanting; and Vander Kemp, who was long among the Koosas, could never learn the name of that number. They appear to have no words for eleven, twelve, or perhaps for any number greater than ten. With this limited knowledge of arithmetic, they can *tell* or count over things they are accustomed to with great readiness. Even when a herd of four or five hundred oxen is driven home, the owner knows, almost at a glance, whether they are all right or not.

The Caffres have no alphabetical characters, nor any use of writing. They can draw a rude outline and engrave coarsely on metals, which they also work and prepare from the ore, as the Hottentots are said to have done before the arrival of the Europeans.

The Koosas have a great respect for their parents and relatives advanced in years. A father, when unable from age to attend any longer to his affairs, gives up the whole of his property to his sons, and is sure of being treated with the utmost care and kindness by them for the remainder of his life. All persons advanced in years have great respect shewn them; their advice is always listened to; and if they become sick or helpless, every one is eager to afford them assistance.

The women are excluded from the public deliberations, but in household affairs have great influence, and indeed manage them almost entirely. Even in the manner of *disposing* of the common property, *the wife has the principal direction.*

But though the influence of the women is so considerable, they perform all the hardest of the work : they not only make all the clothes, but all the house utensils ; even build the houses and cultivate the land. The men, in time of peace, employ themselves solely in the chase, or in tending the cattle. The country inhabited by the Koosas is very fruitful, the climate excellent, and the heat moderate ; all circumstances extremely favourable to the pastoral and *semi-nomade* life, led by the inhabitants. Their numbers are notwithstanding very small, compared with the extent of country which they occupy. The greater fertility of soil in the territory of the Caffres than in that of the Dutch colony, seems to depend on a difference which is very remarkable in the climate of the two countries under the same parallel, and quite contiguous one to another. In the country of the Cape, the rains fall in the winter, or when the sun is farthest from the zenith. The rain then descends in torrents ; but when the sun is nearest the zenith, there are neither clouds nor rain, and the earth is entirely burnt up. In the Caffre country this order is reversed. In winter the days are serene and cool : there is no rain, and only a little fog at night. In summer, when the air becomes sultry, thunder clouds are formed, and bring with them abundant rains, which cool and refresh the air. This difference in the climate of South Africa is a most singular fact.

Among the Caffre tribes, the king is absolute sovereign. He makes laws, and executes them entirely according to his own will. Resistance, however, is so easy, that he cannot at all times be absolute but in appearance. If he adopt any measure which gives universal dissatisfaction, he is warned by one of the oldest and most esteemed chiefs, of the discontent of his subjects. If this warning be not attended to, every Kraal, from the first to the last, retires to the borders ; and the threat of a general emigration seldom fails of

producing a change of measures on the part of the monarch. Vander Kemp saw this kind of opposition actually resorted to twice.

The manner in which the Caffres make war against one another, has a generosity in it very unlike what we find either among savages or civilized nations. When war has been declared, which is always done formally by an ambassador carrying in his hands the tail either of a lion or a panther; the chiefs, with their vassals, are summoned to attend the king. After the army has marched, carrying with it a great number of oxen, which serve for their magazines of supply, and has approached the territory of the enemy, ambassadors are sent to give notice of the intended attack; and if the enemy declare that he is not prepared, or that his people have not assembled, the invading army waits with patience till he is ready! A wide open place, without bushes or rocks, is chosen for the field of battle, that there may be no possibility of an ambush, which is reckoned highly dishonourable. Here they contend with great valour and obstinacy. When one side is vanquished, the same generosity is as conspicuous after the battle, as it was before it. A part of the plunder is sent back to the vanquished; for it is a maxim among them, "that they must not let even their enemies die with hunger."

This generous mode of warfare, however, only takes place when one tribe of Caffres attacks another. When they make war on the Dutch, or upon the Hottentots, they proceed to destroy their enemies according to the most approved practices of savage and civilized nations.

M. Lichtenstein, speaking of the establishment at which M. Vander Kemp presided, observed that it was scarcely possible to describe the wretched situation in which it appeared to him, especially after having seen that at Bavian's Kloof. On a wide plain, without a tree, almost without water to drink, were

scattered forty or fifty little huts in the form of hemispheres, but so low that a man could not stand upright in them. In the centre of these, a small hut of clay, thatched with straw, goes by the name of the church. This is for the missionaries and their converts. Not a bush is to be seen for a great way round; these having been mostly consumed for firewood. The ground all about is perfectly naked and trodden down hard; not the least trace of industry being any where to be seen. Wherever the eye directed itself towards any thing human, nothing was presented but lean, ragged or naked figures, with indolent sleepy countenances. Indeed the old missionary appeared to be quite as regardless of his own temporal concerns as those of his flock. His hut seemed totally destitute of comfort, and quite consistent with the negligence of earthly cares which he professed to teach. When visiting some of his people at Algoa Bay, he sat in an open waggon, drawn by four meagre oxen, in the hottest part of the day, without a hat, his bald head exposed to the burning rays of the sun. He was dressed in a thread-bare black coat, waistcoat and breeches, without shirt, neckcloth or stockings, and leathern sandals bound upon his feet, the same as worn by the Hottentots. This missionary, it seems, soon after this married a young Hottentot girl, and died in a very short time subsequent to this act of imprudence.

Describing a Dutch Boor's house, it was observed to have been composed of the entrance room and a side chamber. The first was a kitchen as well as parlour; but it was no more than twenty feet long, and fourteen broad: and in the chamber was a young woman, a relation of the hostess, then in the pains of child-birth. The whole party were, therefore, stowed in the first room, for the rain grew every instant more and more violent, nor ceased till the next day at noon. *The presence of the strangers was somewhat embarrassing to the hostess, who undertook the cooking her-*

self, in which she was assisted by some half-naked female slaves. Two fresh slain sheep hung near the fire-place ; while other parts of the room were filled up with several vessels, a large chopping-block, and a quantity of dry fire wood. The whole household furniture consisted of two small tables, four or five chests, and half a dozen field-stools. In one corner, was a sitting hen ; in another, a duck with her young ones. About half a dozen dogs every now and then began barking terribly, and running in and out, sprinkled the dirt all about them.

CHAP. V.

Objects large and minute—Size of the Bosjesmans—their Language and Houses—Caffre Villages—Weapons and Diseases—Gaika the Caffre King.

IT is remarkable, that in the narrow compass of eight degrees of latitude from the Cape point, and in a tract of country of singular barrenness, there should be found to exist the largest, as well as the most minute objects in almost every class of the animal world. Thus, like the ostrich and the creeper among the birds, so among the beasts, here are the elephant and the black-streaked mouse ; the one weighing 4,000 pounds, the other about the fourth part of an ounce ; the camelopardalis, of the astonishing height of seventeen feet, and the little elegant zenik or *viverra* of three inches. Here too is the abode of the gigantic hippopotamus, more bulky, though less tall than the elephant ; and also the two-horned rhinoceros, of the same ponderous sow-like formation. Of the thirty species of antelopes, the colony of the Cape alone possesses eighteen. Here too are found the largest of the eland or *oreas* that exists, six feet high ; and the little pigmy, or royal antelope, little more than six

inches. The spring-bok or leaping antelope, is sometimes to be met with in herds of five thousand or more. Here are also the lion, the leopard, the panther, and various species of the tiger-cat ; but it is not infested with the striped tiger of India. The wolf, the hyena, and three or four species of jackals, are every where to be found ; with the ant-eater, the iron-hog, or crested-porcupine, the viverra, that burrows in the ground, the jerboa, nearly allied to the kangaroo, and several species of hares. In the woods and thickets are buffaloes ; and the plains behind the snowy mountains, abound with that beautiful animal the zebra, with the stronger and more elegant shaped quacha, and whole herds of the singular knoo, partaking of the nature of the ox, the horse, the antelope and the stag.

But numerous as are the quadrupeds already known in this portion of Africa, there is reason to believe that many others still remain to be discovered. In the short distance between the Orange river and Leetakoo, in the Booshuana country, M. Trutter and Somerville procured four new species of animals. These are the *jekloa*, a very large species of rhinoceros, with two horns of nearly equal length ; the *pallah*, a species of antelope, somewhat resembling the spring-bok in the shape of its body and horns, but larger ; the *tahkeitse*, or wild creature, so named from its ferocity, though apparently partaking of the cow and the antelope ; the *kokoona*, a large species of gnou, from which it differs, by having a long flowing main instead of one erect and trimmed, as is the case with the common gnou ; it has neither the speed nor the fierceness of the latter. Accurate drawings of all these have been made by Mr. Daniell.

In the mountains of the Cape are numerous troops of that disgusting animal, the dog-faced baboon ; from this creature the miserable Bosjesman is scarcely otherwise distinguished, than by his want of a hairy co-

vering, and by possessing the organs of speech which he scarcely knows how to use.

Hunger and cold, and every species of distress, have cramped the growth of the Bosjesmans, and dwindled them down to a stature, probably the most diminutive of the human race. The middle size of the men is about four feet six inches, and of the other sex, four feet; many are several inches below this standard. They are hideously ugly both in shape and feature; the outline of the face, triangular and concave; the cheek-bones high; the chin sharp and prominent; the nose flat; the lips thick; the eye obliquely placed in the head, narrow, sunk, keen, and always in motion; their complexion that of a withered tobacco-leaf, concealed by a coating of dirt and grease, excepting in places where it may happen to be peeled off; their legs, thighs, and arms are lean and withered; divested of all appearance of muscle, the joints large, and the belly protuberant.

Every Bosjesman carries a small bow with a quiver on his back, filled with poisoned arrows; these, when he sallies forth to fight or plunder, are stuck in a fillet of skin round the head; through the cartilage of his nose, a piece of wood or porcupine quill being thrust, contributes to his deformity. When he carries off any cattle, the whole horde feast upon the carcases, surrounded by kites and vultures, and the great carrion-crow. These birds are not unfrequently the cause of the farmers discovering their retreats. Failing in their attempts to plunder, they set out in parties to pursue the larger kinds of game. Some drive them into narrow defiles, where the others lie in wait to strike them with their poisoned arrows; and an animal once struck, rarely escapes them. Sometimes these animals are taken by digging holes in the ground.

The language of these people is scarcely human, being chiefly monosyllables, almost every one of which *is forced out with a remarkable clacking of the tongue*

against the teeth or palate. This strange noise, which sounds like *hot* or *tot*, may probably have been the origin of the name which the Dutch have conferred upon their neighbours, by the frequent remark, that every thing with them was *hot en tot*.

The clothing of the men consists of the raw skin of a sheep, a goat, or an antelope; to which the women add a belt of the same material: and to this there is appended in front, another piece of skin cut into narrow thongs, and affording but a partial covering to what they appear but little careful to conceal. They sometimes wear round their ancles, twisted thongs of skin; and bits of copper or shells, or glass beads, round their necks, or dangling from the curling tufts of their greasy hair, which appears to grow in little detached pellets.

The house of a Bosjesman is easily carried about with him. It is nothing more than a mat of rushes, or long grass, bent between two sticks into a semicircular shape, placed over a hollow in the ground, scooped out like the nest of an ostrich, in which the Bosjesman coils himself round when he goes to sleep, like many quadrupeds; and frequently his only abode is the shelter afforded by the rocks or the caverns of the mountains.

The Caffres dwell in permanent villages, consisting of forty or fifty huts each, placed near the banks of rivers, for the convenience of themselves and their cattle. Their huts are hemispherical, very closely wattled and plastered, wind and water tight, and on the whole not uncomfortable. The king's hut or house differs only from the rest, in having the tail of a lion or panther stuck upon the top of it. They have beds of skins and stuffed cushions; vessels of earthenware and of gourds; baskets beautifully woven of rushes, in which they hold their milk. The people are clothed in skins, well dressed, soft and pliant, and neatly sewed with the fibres of animal ligaments. The



Boysenians.

pl. 67.



Hottentots.

pl. 68.

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men in warm weather go perfectly naked, and their bodies are rubbed over with grease and red ochre. The women at all times are closely covered up from the neck to the ancles; and such is their sense of female decorum, that they will not even suckle their children, or draw up their mantle to cross a river, in the presence of strangers. They cultivate a species of millet, buck-wheat, and a bitter gourd, resembling in its appearance the water-melon. Their chief food is thickened milk, as they rarely kill their cattle, except on extraordinary occasions. A cup of milk, drunk by the bride from the bridegroom's cow, is the seal of the marriage contract. They are frugal, temperate, and cleanly both in their huts and persons, extremely hospitable, good-humoured towards friends and strangers, but implacable towards their foes. In their wars they are brave and resolute; their chief weapon is the hassagai, or a long spear with an iron lance-shaped head; and their defensive armour, an oval shield cut from the hide of an ox, sufficiently large to cover nearly the whole body. They also carry a weapon called the keri, being a stick of heavy wood, with a clubbed head.

The Caffres are subject to few diseases; to colds and catarrhs, they are utter strangers. They practise bleeding, and have certain external and internal remedies; but, like all half-civilized people, are extremely superstitious. They rely chiefly on appeasing the angry spirit, which they conceive afflicts them. When rain is wanted, they have recourse to certain old women, who have the reputation of being witches; these ladies practise a number of ridiculous ceremonies, in order to accomplish the purpose. If they succeed, their reputation is established; but if they fail, they are expelled the society, and in some cases suffer death.

It is much to be hoped, that the following description of the young Caffre king, Gaika, is not over-

charged. "Gaika," says M. Lichtenstein, is one of the handsomest men that can be seen, even among the Caffres; uncommonly tall, with strong limbs, and very fine features. His countenance is expressive of the utmost benevolence and self-confidence, united with great animation; there is in his whole appearance, something that at once speaks the king, although there was nothing in his dress to distinguish him, except some rows of white beads round his neck. It is not hazarding too much to say, that among the savages all over the globe, a handsomer man could scarcely be found. Nay, one might go further, and say, that among the sovereigns of the cultivated nations, it would, perhaps, be difficult to find so many qualities united worthy of their dignity. His fine, tall, well-proportioned form, at the age of six and twenty; the simplicity, yet dignity of his deportment; the striking readiness of his judgment and of his answers; his frankness, and the rational view he took of things; all these properties combined are not often to be found among those, who have really had infinitely greater advantages in the formation of their persons and minds."

CHAP. VI.

Mr. Campbell lands at Cape Town—Bethelsdorp—Death of Dr. Vander Kemp—New Drossdy of George Town—A Hottentot Chief—Beggar's Village—Water-wheels—Ant-hills—Bees—Lions shot—A Cavern—A Procession—A River—Wooden Horses—The Briqua, or Corana Country—Blink, or Shining Mountain—Dancing Girls—Death of Dr. Cowan—City of Mooso.

MR. CAMPBELL left England at the request of the *Missionary Society*, on board the *Isabella*, Captain

Pearce, and, accompanied by a friend, arrived at the Cape on the 24th of October following. After obtaining from his Excellency Sir John Cradock, letters of recommendation to the several districts he had occasion to visit, as well as the necessary information from the colonial secretary, Henry Alexander, Esq., Mr. Campbell first proceeded to Bethelsdorp, about 500 miles west of the Cape; thence northward to Graaf Reynet; then to Griqua Town, and to Lettakoo, a populous city scarcely known to Europeans. He afterwards visited several tribes of people, some of whom had never seen a white man, and, returning to Griqua Town, travelled southward, parallel with the west coast of Africa, and after a hazardous journey of nine months, returned to the Cape Town in health and safety.

The death of Dr. Vander Kemp, mentioned in Lichtenstein's travels in this quarter, having left an opening for a person to superintend the African Missions, made it expedient in the opinion of the directors to request one of their own body, the Rev. John Campbell, to visit the country, personally to inspect the different settlements, and to establish such regulations in concurrence with Mr. Read, as might be most conducive to the attainment of the great end proposed, viz. :—the conversion of the heathen, keeping in view, at the same time, the promotion of their civilization.

The expedition left Cape Town on the 13th of February, the most sultry of the summer months, consisting of two waggons, one drawn by twelve, the other by fourteen oxen; two drivers, Cupido, a converted Hottentot, and a preacher of the gospel; Britannia, a Gonaqua; two Hottentot ox-leaders, John and Michael; and two Hottentot ladies, Elizabeth and Sarah, who were hired to perform the offices of cook and washerwoman. Among the first occurrences that took place on their setting out, they mention the

killing of a grey serpent, which shone in the dark and emitted a rattling sound ; they caught a scorpion and surrounded him by fire, to put to the proof the vulgar opinion, that so circumstanced, he would sting himself to death ; but it died as quietly as any other animal, only darting its sting from it, as if to oppose any ordinary assailant ; and they mention another animal, resembling an animated piece of straw, which the boors called, " The Hottentot's God." These and a few similar observations, with some hair-breadth escapes from rugged rocks, precipices, and deep rivers, an occasional sermon in Dutch from Cupido, and a profusion of moral and religious reflections on the scattered and miserable inhabitants of the wilderness, make up the progress of the first eighteen days, at the end of which they found themselves at the new Drosdy of " George Town," founded by Lord Caledon, the British Governor of the Cape.

Here, Mr. Campbell observed, he had not seen a pleasanter situation in Africa, as it abounded with wood, water, and majestic scenery. A neighbouring wood is very extensive, and so full of all kind of trees belonging to the climate, as to be sufficient for a supply for many years. The soil here is good either for corn or pasture ; there is plenty of clay for making bricks, and abundance of lime on the sea-shore, which is only a few miles distant. The Landrost's house was then building ; the prison and the court-house were finished, and the secretary's, and some others, nearly so. The two principal streets cross each other at right angles, and the church is built in the centre. The streets are 200 feet wide, and on each side of them a row of trees are planted, not only for ornament, but for defending passengers from the scorching rays of the sun, which here is almost vertical.

Lord Caledon's object in building this town was to *draw the inhabitants together, and to create a market for the interchange of commodities ; but independent*

of local conveniencies, the situation is most judiciously chosen. It is midway between Zwellendam and Plettenberg's Bay, in that choice district of country formerly known by the name of Autoniequeland, which was reserved by the Dutch government for rearing and supporting its numerous horses and oxen.

Here Captain Dikkop, a Hottentot chief, brought sixty of his people, mostly females, to hear a sermon from Cupido; after which the party visited the Captain's Kraal. A very old man, nearly in a state of nature, welcomed the missionaries with lively expressions of joy and gratitude; but on examination proved to be extremely ignorant.

From George Town to Bethelsdorp little occurred worthy of notice, beyond the usual difficulties which travellers have to encounter in this country, from the passage of rivers, and the occasional scarcity of fresh water. At one place while Cupido was preaching, a wolf made an attack on two cows, one of which he killed, and wounded the other.

On the 20th of March, the party arrived at Bethelsdorp, where, after a great deal of preaching and assisting at a love-feast, which consisted of a cup of coffee and biscuit, they found a little time to look over the establishment. From the account here given of it, it seems to be nearly as Lichtenstein represented, a Beggar's village. Mr. Campbell allows it has a miserable appearance; the houses are mean, and many of them fallen into ruins; the grounds in the neighbourhood are barren, and here are neither trees, shrubs, or gardens to relieve the eye.

From Bethelsdorp the mission proceeded in an easterly direction, through that part of the country formerly known by the name of Zaurefeld, which extends from the Zwart-Kops, nearly to the Great Fish River, a district to which they have now given the name of Albany. Here a chain of military posts has

been established to prevent the incursions of the Caffres, though it does not appear that any use is made of the country by the colonists ; the only inhabitants at each post, consisting of a subaltern, with a few men generally of the Hottentot regiment, and occasionally a straggling party of Hottentots or Caffres. The officers were mostly Scotch or Hanoverians. Mr. Campbell seemed at a loss to know how they spent their time, especially as he observed that the library of one of them consisted only of a dictionary and an almanack, with which he appeared to be very well contented. What are called the head-quarters are at Graham's Town. From this place they directed their course north-westerly, towards Graaf Reynet. On their way they visited Captain Andrews, on the Fish River, whose house and whole establishment formed a striking contrast with those of the Dutch boors. Though the best house in the whole district of Albany, it was built by himself, assisted by the Hottentots whom he instructed. He had an excellent garden, watered by an engine, which raised the water thirty feet out of the river. This engine, it may be supposed, is the wheel of the Chinese, with scoops and buckets appended to its circumference. The boors gaped at it with astonishment : but when Captain Andrews offered to conduct the water of two good springs to the grounds of one of these people, provided he would sow *grain* ; he said it was too much trouble, he could purchase flour at five days' journey ! Here Mr. Campbell observed an ant-hill of an extraordinary size ; it was about five feet high and twelve in circumference. Whole plains, however, are studded with these hills, from two to three feet high and about two feet in diameter. They are encrusted with a clayey substance, as hard almost as stone ; internally they are composed of a dark-brown substance like indurated peat, *which makes an excellent fuel, and by perforating the side and setting fire to the interior, the boors have*

at once an excellent oven to bake their bread, or roast their mutton, when travelling over the deserts. The activity of this insect probably increases with the heat of the climate; for here they sometimes work their way into a boor's house, and devour the multifarious contents of the great family chest; but on the east coast of Africa, about Congo and Bemba, if we may credit Father Carli, they make no ceremony of eating up a whole ox in the course of a night; indeed, he himself had a narrow escape from being devoured; the ants, he says, having broke loose, poured like a torrent into his house, and before he could get out were already half a foot deep upon the floor.

The bees frequently drive out the ants, and take possession of their habitations. In those cells, and in the crevices of rocks, and of hollow trees, the boors employ the Hottentots to seek for honey; of this indeed these people enjoy the monopoly, having persuaded the colonists that in every nest a certain moth is engendered, whose bite is mortal; but this is nothing more than the common *death's-head* moth.

During the stay of the travellers at Graaf Reynet, they had a great many meetings for preaching and prayer. Here Cupido and Boozak, the two converted Hottentots, also preached to the heathen; but in a way which could not be tolerated in any other place, or upon any other occasion.

Leaving Graaf Reynet for the Sneeuwberg, and proceeding across the Bosjesman's or Bushman's country, they arrived at once among game of a higher class, elks and zebras, gnoos, quachas, and hippopotami. Mr. Campbell relates that a boor of Graaf Reynet, had shot a male lion, on which his mate sprung from her den, dashed the murderer to the ground with a stroke of her paw, and was proceeding to tear him in pieces, when the brother of the man levelled his musket and shot her through the throat, but not before she had dreadfully lacerated her intended victim.

The skin of the dead lion, with its black and shaggy mane of twelve inches long, had a terrific appearance in the eyes of Mr. Campbell, but he had now to encounter living lions. In fact, the party had not proceeded far in the Sneuwberg, before the alarm was given of two lions being close upon them in a thicket. Thirteen of them, therefore, advanced with loaded muskets, within fifty yards of the spot, and poured in a volley of balls, when one of these animals made off apparently wounded, but the other, a female, was so disabled as to be killed by a second fire. Here they halted for the night, and while at supper discoursing of lions and lion-hunters, were assailed by a terrible roaring behind the tent, which they concluded to be the male lion in search of his mate. With respect to the disposition of the lion to attack men, travellers seem to agree that he will, at all times, select a Hottentot from among the boors, or make his way through a whole herd of cattle to get at him; and in this, it is said, he shews both taste and judgment. The boors and animals would require to be uncased, or stripped of their clothes, hair, or wool, but a Hottentot is not only ready plucked but larded. There is a story, told by Barrow, of the perseverance of a lion, in waiting at the foot of a tree for a Hottentot who had fled to it for protection. Mr. Campbell has a story of the same kind; only his lion and Hottentot both fell asleep, when the latter tumbled out of the tree upon the former, which so astonished the royal brute that he took to his heels leaving the Hottentot master of the field.

In crossing the Sneuwberg the party visited a deep cavern, formed by rocks, whose roof resembled that of "a cathedral in miniature;" within if they observed hundreds of bats hanging by their feet, so close together, that at first sight they appeared like carved work on the roof; their ordure lay in the bottom of the cave mid-leg deep. They also met a female na-

tive, about sixty years of age, who only measured three feet nine inches in height. In crossing the Bushman's country they were accosted by a family of them, consisting of three men, a woman, and a child, and nearly at the same time they encountered a couple of lions; but the latter walked away without molesting them. Mr. Campbell also observed that none of the Bushmen had any name, except the father, whom they called *Old Boy*. He advised the lady to wash her face, observing it to be extremely dirty, but she declined the operation with a significant shake of the head; and the Hottentots observed to him that their countrymen liked the dirt because it kept them warm. Their food consisted of a bulbous root, which, when roasted, had the taste of a chesnut.

A procession which was formed during Mr. Campbell's journey across the Bushmen's country, appears truly unique. The party were passing along the banks of the great river, in an easterly direction, among the tall withered grass, in the following order: 1st. Eight Bushmen riding on oxen; 2d. The baggage waggon and twelve oxen; 3d. A Bushman on ox-back, and the guide on horseback; 4th. Mr. Campbell's waggon and ten oxen; 5th. Their flock of sheep and goats; 6th. The third waggon and ten oxen; 7th. The chief and his son on oxen, with two of the English party on horseback; 8th. The spare oxen; 9th. The armed Hottentots walking scattered. The whole formed a curious caravan, which had it proceeded along the streets of London, would have collected a crowd of spectators equal to that on His Majesty's going to St. Paul's.

From the several lions they met with, it would appear they escaped as by a kind of miracle. One day the party crossed a plain, on which was a lake of such extent that Mr. Campbell had not seen any other in five months' travel, that, compared with this,

deserved the name, but the water was salt. The plain abounded with game, particularly with various kinds of bucks, of which they shot nine ; also one ostrich and a quacha. In twelve days they had accomplished the passage of this dreary desert ; a part of the journey which might have been fatal to the expedition had not some copious rain fallen : for otherwise it was ascertained they would have met with nothing but a scanty supply of brackish water, and that only twice in the first seven days, and very little either of water or grass during the other five. The sight of the Great River was, therefore, most acceptable to man and beast, and both cattle and men rushed towards it with the greatest eagerness ; neither the thickets with which its banks were covered, nor the steepness of its sides, were any impediment to the cattle ; they pushed heedlessly forward, till their mouths reached it, when the rapid motion of every tail indicated satisfaction and enjoyment.

Here, however, the river was not fordable : but after travelling seven or eight days along the southern bank, they at length reached a ford. Several Hottentots who resided on the opposite side came across to assist them : these people led the oxen in the waggon, others swam on *wooden-horses*, driving before them the loose cattle, sheep, and goats. These wooden-horses are described as logs of wood, from six to eight feet in length, having pegs driven into the side at a few inches' distance from one of the ends. On one of these logs a man stretches himself at full length, holding fast by the peg with one hand, whilst with the other, and occasionally with his feet, he drives it on by striking the water as in the act of swimming. The end of the log which goes foremost, is held obliquely to the stream, in an angle of about 45 degrees, by which it is pushed across, without being carried far down by the current. It is a singular circumstance that in the whole extent of this river

(which is now known for at least 600 miles) the banks are inhabited by sedentary tribes, who have abundance of cattle, and raise pulse, grain, tobacco, &c. ; and yet there is not a single boat of any description used for passing it. The latter fact is the more surprising, as on each side, there is almost an uninterrupted belt of wood, in some places not less than a quarter of a mile in depth. It is not less surprising that none of the missionaries have contrived some sort of raft to keep up a communication with the two banks. The Moravians, it has been observed, would have accomplished it immediately.

A long day's journey brought the party to a missionary station called "Klaar Water," in the Briqua or Corana country. Mr. Campbell calls this part Griqualand, and the natives Griquas. The first persons, who visited the Brikwas, were two brothers named *Kruger*. In one house they noticed a Dutch quarto Bible, and in two others, parts of the New Testament. Some of the people had small gardens in which were pumpkins, cabbages, kidney-beans, tobacco, millet ; and in that belonging to the missionaries were potatoes, plum and peach trees, with a few vines ; there was also a smith's shop, of little use, as there was no person to instruct the natives in the use of the tools.

From the Brikwas, the party directed their course towards Leetakoo, the principal town of the Booshuanas. They had not proceeded far before they saw four or five lions on a rising ground, who calmly turned round and looked at them ; but, as it were by a kind of tacit compact, neither party seemed disposed to molest the other ; the one remaining stationary, the other moving forward. On this occasion Mr. Campbell mentions a contrivance among the natives to shoot a lion, by placing a trap-gun at the entrance of the Kraal : but this was used in the earliest periods of the colony under the name of a *Stell-roer*.

On the fourth day after leaving the Great River they halted at a spring near the foot of the *blink* or shining mountain, so called from a shining stone resembling the lead, of which pencils are made in England, and which, when ground, the Booshuanas use for hair-powder. It also contains a red stone, used by the neighbouring tribes to paint their bodies. This hill Mr. Campbell calls a kind of Mecca to surrounding nations. Having provided themselves with a lighted candle, Messrs. Campbell and Read entered a subterraneous passage towards the centre of the mountain. As they advanced they observed the arched roof full of projecting pieces of the shining rock, and saw some large caverns on each side. The roof, at one place, appeared curiously carved, as if the work of art, part of which they were able to reach, but this they found was nothing but a multitude of bats, hanging asleep from the roof.

Three days further travelling brought them to the Krooman or Kourmanna fountain, generally allowed to be one of the finest springs in all Africa. Near the mouth of the cave from which it issues, Mr. Campbell says it flows in a stream nine feet wide and eighteen inches deep. Another traveller says, "it gushed from a cavern of rocks, as from the sluice of a mill dam, and that it formed at a hundred paces from its centre, a stream of at least thirty feet wide, and two feet deep." Three days more brought them to Leetakoo; and here Mr. Campbell observed "all the paths in the Corana country are narrow, because people walk as wild geese fly, one immediately behind another; a custom which he thinks may, probably, be owing to a scarcity of subjects for conversation." We know indeed from the latest accounts transmitted by the unfortunate Cowan, that the town of Leetakoo, visited by Messrs. Trutter and Somerville, had been *destroyed* in consequence of a division among the *principal* people, and that Moolihaban caused the new



A Icelukoo Chief and Lady of Quality

Engraved by Fisher Son & Co. Carvers, London 1824

capital to be built at the distance of sixty miles south-east of Leetakoo, to which he gave the name of Ramampan.

On descending towards the valley in which Leetakoo was situated, they were surprised that no person was to be seen in any direction except two or three boys : they advanced within a hundred yards of the town, yet no inhabitant appeared. On entering the principal street, a man came forward and beckoned the party to follow him. Proceeding amidst the houses, every thing remained as still as if the town had been forsaken of its inhabitants. Arriving opposite the king's house, they found several hundreds of persons assembled, among whom were a number of tall men with spears, drawn up in military order on the north side of the square, marked out by bushes and branches of trees. In a few minutes this square was filled with men, women and children, who poured in from all quarters to the number of a thousand or more. They observed, however, among them a shyness and suspicion, and a whispering among one another, which, with the dead silence on entering the town, they were unable to comprehend ; until at length it was explained to them, that on hearing of their approach, the natives had been alarmed lest the object of their visit should have been to revenge the death of Cowan and his party, who, they said, had been put to death by the Wanketsens, a tribe of people to the northward of Leetakoo.

Finding that the journey of the party had no connexion with this unhappy business, they soon acquired confidence. The old king Moolihaban, who had conducted himself with so much kindness and hospitality to Messrs. Trutter and Somerville, was dead, and his son Matebee, was from home on hunting party ; but the two uncles of the chiefs, *Mannets* and *Salakotoo*, came to the tent of the visitors with several of the principal men of the place ;

were followed by one of the king's wives, who brought them some milk, for which they gave her in exchange a little tobacco. She asked Mr. Read for snuff: he said he did not take snuff; to which she shrewdly replied, "he would have the more to give away on that account."

Here they remained eight days, before Matabee returned from hunting jackals. He entered the town with many attendants, carrying spears and poles dressed with black ostrich feathers, which are used to frighten away lions, by sticking them in the ground where they halt. In passing the waggons, he did not take the least notice of them, and acted just as if no strangers were present. Having heard from his ministers the events that had taken place during his absence, and related his own adventures, both of which did not occupy more than ten minutes, the strangers were ordered to come forward, and he stretched out his right hand, which each of them shook. During all this, there was not the least change in his countenance. He appeared thoughtful and cautious. The party at first imagined he wore a forbidding aspect, but he gained in their estimation every hour. "I felt much in parting from him," said Mr. Campbell, "but he held out little encouragement." His people, he said, had no time to give to the instructions of the missionaries, because they had to attend to their cattle, planting, and many other things; besides what they taught was contrary to their customs: upon the whole, he did not refuse to receive a permanent mission; but on being told that instruction would not interfere with industry, that the white people were industrious, as he might see by the clothes, waggons, &c., which were made by them, he at length said, "Send instructors, I will be a father to them."

The Booshuanas are represented by Mr. Campbell, *as the same good-humoured, contented people which Mr. Barrow described them.* Every day, and many



Queen of Loetokoo

Pl. 14



Princess of Loetokoo

Pl. 15

Illustration of the

Queen of Loetokoo



times in the course of the day, parties of women and young girls danced before the tent, some marked with chalk and red ochre, and others dressed out in straw and feathers in the most fantastical manner. The men seemed to have nothing to do but to loiter about the town. Great numbers visited the tents every day ; but not a single article was missing during their stay, except two buttons, for taking of which, the culprit was driven out of the public square.

The Booshuanas, it seems, could give no account of their origin. They said, they came from some far country to the northward ; that two men came out of the water, one rich, having plenty of cattle ; the other poor, having only two dogs. One lived by feeding his cattle, the other by the chase : but what could be expected of persons who, standing on the heights near it, could not give any account of the ruins of Leetakoo !

Mr. Campbell having heard of some paintings in Salakatoo's house, he and his friends went to look at them ; but found them very rough representations of the camel-leopard, rhinoceros, elephant, lion, tiger, and stein-bok, which Salakatoo's wife had traced out upon the clay wall with white and black paint. According to Mr. Campbell's description of the houses at Leetakoo, they consist of a circular row of wooden pillars supporting a conical roof ; and each house has an enclosure, fenced in with reeds, or the stalks of Caffre corn ; and one of these enclosures had much of an English appearance.

The women perform all the laborious work, from which the wives of the king are not exempt ; they build the houses, mould the pottery, dig up the ground, and plant and reap the grain and pulse. The men keep the cattle in the same good order as the Caffres ; and when they refuse to give their milk, they, in common with all the tribes of southern Africa, follow the method which Herodotus tells us was prac-

tised by the Scythians with their mares ; and which is so forcibly described by a print in Old Kolben.

An entertainment of the royal family at Leetakoo, is thus described by Mr. Campbell : " They were at dinner in a corner of their yard, outside the house. The king's distinction seemed to consist in his sitting next the pot that contained the boiled beans, on which they were dining, and having the only spoon we saw, with which he helped himself and his friends, by putting a portion into each hand as it was held out to him. One of the princesses was employed in cutting with an axe a dried paunch, into small pieces, and putting them into a pot to be boiled, either to complete that repast, or to serve for another soon after. One of Matebee's sisters was cutting up a filthy looking piece of flesh, and putting it into the same pot. Certainly an Englishman would almost die for want of food, before he accepted an invitation to die with the king of Letakoo."

The dresses of the dancing girls at Letakoo are thus described. Some of them had one side of the face painted black, and the other white ; others the upper part of the face white, and the under black. They had pieces of reeds about six inches long, strung like beads, and made into the form of a petticoat, hung round them from the middle almost to the ground, which made a strange noise when they danced. They had likewise a great quantity of straw-rope wound about them, projecting twelve or fifteen inches from the middle of their backs, and also in front, which gave them a very odd appearance. The queen, and several others who acted as musicians, by bawling aloud and clapping their hands, wore cloaks composed of about a dozen fur tippets, hanging from their shoulders to the ground, under which they had a skin cloak, without the hair. A few wore leathern caps ; but the greater part had no covering on their

heads. Almost every one wore sandals except the dancing girls.

Before the departure of the travellers from this place, they had some conversation with Matabee on the subject of Dr. Cowan's murder. He told them, that when on an expedition with the Wanketsens, he saw the chief of this tribe, whose name is Makkaba, appear at a dance in the clothes of Cowan, which were red and striped; that so far from having concealed the murder, he advised Matabee to treat white people as he did, and then he would get such articles also; and that he observed some of the barrels of their muskets employed to smooth the seams of their skin cloaks. He farther learned from a party of Booshuanas and Coranas, who had assisted the Wanketzens in an expedition against an enemy farther north, that these savages took the opportunity while Dr. Cowan was bathing in a pool at a little distance from the waggons, to surprise and put to death the people that were guarding the cattle, then those at the waggons, and lastly the unfortunate Cowan and his companion. One man escaped who belonged to the missionary station at Klaar-water; but was afterwards put to death by another chief of the name of Makrakka, who had revolted from Moolihaban. This catastrophe is said to have taken place near the city of Melita, where Makabba, chief of the Wanketzens, resides. The same story had been told them before with very little variation; and, among others, by their own interpreter, who had seen Cowan's tent, his sheep, spoons, forks, and clothes.

Mr. Campbell has placed the Wanketzens northeast from Leetakoo, five days' journey, which does not agree with the account he received from a Corana, named John Hendric, who went to Melita to shoot game, and barter for cattle. Leaving Leetakoo, Hendric travelled eastward to a people called Red Caffres, or *Tamakka*, a mongrel race between Booshuanas and

Hottentots. The first of their villages was four days' journey from Leetakoo ; and the name of the principal one, Reebe. After six days' journey hence, in a north-easterly direction, he came to the city of Mooso, much larger than Leetakoo, containing from ten to twelve thousand people, with the same manners and customs as the Booshuanas.

CHAP. VII.

Capital of the Morolongs—A Red Caffre Village—Murderers of Dr. Cowan—A Bosjesman's Kraal—A spirited Chief—Dorp, or Village of Rowland Hill—Koks Kraal—A Boor's Lady—Heat of the Climate—A Mahometan Mosque at the Cape Town.

Mooso is the capital of the Morolongs, or the Baroloos, mentioned by Mr. Trutter. From Mooso, travelling north, Hendrick, in three days, reached Melita, which is somewhat smaller than Mooso ; the language, manners, and customs, nearly the same. From this account, and taking the day's journey at twenty miles, about the average of a Hottentot's travelling, Melita is nearly 220 miles north-east of Leetakoo.

The account of a journey performed by *Mataree*, usually employed as an ambassador from Matabee to other chiefs, seems to border a little on the marvellous. He set out with a party on a plundering expedition. Travelling north, they reached *Chup*, or Honey Valley, the fourth day ; they then struck off to the westward, and journeyed for five moons over extensive deserts, entirely destitute of water, but strewn with wild water-melons in great abundance, which served the party both for food and drink. They then reached a nation called *Mampare*, who

reside near a great water, across which they could see no land ; and on which they observed the sun to go down. They saw the people go upon this water in bowls, which they pushed forward with pieces of wood. Mataree represented them as a peaceful and harmless people, a great many of whom he murdered, and then brought away their cattle without molestation. Whether the cattle lived on water-melons, on the return of the party, Mr. Campbell does not say ; however, it is supposed, that Mataree certainly crossed Africa to the southern Atlantic or Ethiopic ocean. From Leetakoo, Mr. Campbell and his party determined to proceed to the eastward, on a report that a number of the natives in that quarter would gladly receive missionaries. The appearance of the country before them was that of a corn-field bounded by the horizon. They killed a beautiful quacha, two buffaloes, and a calf ; saw large flocks of spring boks, and some wandering Bosjesmans.

On the second day they came to a Booshuana village of ten huts, resembling inverted tea-cups ; and on the following day reached a red Caffre village, situated in the opening of some hills, which they called Wilberforce Pass. where about an hundred people had gotten together to collect *ounces* for food. These red Caffres, obviously Bosjesmans, are described as extremely wretched, living in dwellings shaped like half an hen's egg, with the open part exposed to the weather ; and so low, as to be hardly visible among the bushes, till quite close to them. Three miles beyond this, brought Mr. Campbell to the town of Malapeetzee, where the people gazed at their approach with fear and astonishment. It consisted of fifty-six huts, and about three hundred inhabitants, a quiet, indolent, and good-humoured sort of people, living almost *entirely* on the milk of their cattle ; *but the men are said to be neither so tall, nor so*

black, or industrious, as those of Leetakoo, though the women are just the same.

Observing in the hair of one of the principal men of the town, a single bugle horn, it forcibly excited the idea, that it must have belonged either to Dr. Cowan or Lieutenant Donovan, and by employing one of their followers, the party obtained it for a little tobacco. The man who wore it, said, he had it from a people living to the northward; and, upon further inquiries, it appeared, that the account received here and at Leetakoo, was consistent; and that Makkaba, the chief of the Wanketzens, was the murderer, though Mr. Campbell's account of the place and time of Dr. Cowan's death, was by no means accurate. Makkaba, however, received Campbell and his party with the greatest kindness, and at their departure sent his own brother to accompany, and introduce them to the next tribe, dwelling to the northward, whom Cowan called the Wanketchies. This country is described as more rich and beautiful than any which had yet appeared in Southern Africa. It was watered by the river Meloppo, rising out of a large lake, and running in a north-westerly direction; the face of the country is diversified by clumps of the tall and spreading acacia. Dr. Cowan stated his intention, on leaving the Wanketchies, to strike off in a north-easterly direction, towards Sofala river, by which he meant to descend to the coast. On a rumour from Sofala, of some disaster having befallen his party, Lord Caledon instantly despatched a ship from the Cape, to collect information from the governor. The account received, was, that the travellers arriving in the evening within the dominions of the King of Zaire (a slave-dealer) in two boats drawn by oxen, *i. e.*, tilt waggons; the king had asked for one of these boats, which not being granted, the party were set upon in the middle of the night, and put to death, except two persons, who effected their escape. The

governor of Mozambique sent trusty blacks up the country, who returned with much the same story. The murder was here said to have been committed about forty leagues from the sea-coast; Lieutenant Donovan belonged to the light infantry, and the bugle found in the hair of the savage, was unquestionably the ornament worn in his cap.

Mr. Campbell's party now turned to the southward, and travelled over the most rough and rocky ground they had met with during the whole journey; but another day brought them to the summit of a hill, from whence they discovered others, ornamented with trees to the very tops; and valleys that resembled the finest parks in England. The windings of the Malalareen river, in the front of the hills, contributed not a little to enliven the scene; and they saw, or thought they saw, distant forests behind it. In this beautiful country they stumbled upon a Bosjesman's Kraal, consisting of a few huts, the inhabitants of which hastily turned out, and drew up in battle array. The chief, whose name was *Makoon*, jumped up with a view to intimidate them, by brandishing his bow; and the women disappeared, as if a battle had been going to commence immediately. *Makoon*, however, consented to a parley, in which, in reply to Campbell's offer to send missionaries, he very judiciously observed, "I shall be very glad if any person will come to my country to tell me and my people what we do not know; we are peaceable Bosjesmen: so was my father, and his father; they never stole any thing from their neighbours;" and he added, "we have plenty of game and water." This high-spirited poor man appeared to possess nothing but the skin cloak that covered him, and his bow and arrows.

Proceeding from this kraal, on the 14th of July, in a south-westerly direction along the Malalareen, one of the main branches of the Orange river, and keep-

ing on the northern bank, they reached Briequa town on the 20th, just six weeks after their departure from it, on their journey to Leetakoo.

In this journey, they saw the junction of the Malalareen with the Yellow river, the latter of which, in some parts, is larger than the Thames. Another stream, a few miles lower down, out of compliment to the Colonial Secretary, they call the Alexander; and farther still, to another copious stream, flowing from the same quarter, they gave the name of Cradock river. The junction of the Malalareen, the Yellow river, the Alexander, and the Cradock, all of which, probably, descend from the tropical regions, form the Great, or Orange river, that crosses the continent of Africa, and flows into the southern Atlantic ocean. This, though visited by several Europeans, at different times, and at different points, since its first discovery, was never traced throughout the whole of its course across this part of the continent, by any but Mr. Campbell and his party.

As a month's journey would carry them across the continent, from the Briequas to the Namaquas, where there was a missionary station, and thereby save at least two months, which would be consumed by returning direct to the Cape and from thence to the mouth of the Orange river, they determined on the former plan, and travelling westward, on the north side of the river, they reached, on the third day, the village of Hardcastle, one of the out-posts of the Briequas, situated in a valley surrounded by mountains of asbestos. Here the number of persons is stated to be 110 men, 165 women, 110 boys, 100 girls, and 400 Corana Hottentots. Having waited in vain five days, to cross the river, the villagers began to think of building a passage boat. The party, however, preferred to move on, but were obliged to make a tour to the northward, passing the Dorp, or village of Rowland Hill; and turning by Vansittart moun-

tain, to the southward.—On crossing the sandy descent from hence, Mr. Campbell observed that many a melancholy groan proceeded from the poor, thirsty oxen, whilst dragging the waggons through the deep sand. Many a longing look was directed towards that quarter where all expected to find the great river; but Mr. Campbell observes: “When the sun forsook us, and went to illuminate other lands, there was no indication of our approach to water. Exactly at midnight, the cry of ‘River! River!’ relieved us all, and made us at once forget our toils.”

Nothing occurred, worthy of notice, in the course of their journey along the northern bank of the Orange river; the country, it was observed, was “equally solitary and equally safe;” a few wandering Coranas, now and then a black snake, and a colony of little birds assembled in a solitary tree, were the only animated beings that came in their way.

Coming to Kok’s Kraal, Kok informed them that he had been recently hunting elephants on the north side of the river; that he had travelled six days without meeting with a spring of water; but that the water-melons dispersed over the country, when roasted, afforded him plenty of good water.

As they proceeded to the westward, the surface of the country became more rugged and barren, and the heat of the weather increased. Lizards and field-mice swarmed on all sides; the latter, to escape thirst, it is said, drag little berries of succulent plants, full of water, into their holes.

Pella, a missionary station in Namaqua land, is described as a most miserable place, where the thermometer, at three in the afternoon, stood at 98° in the shade; and this, too, in the first month of spring. Every thing had a sickly dying aspect; rocks and sand, without a blade of grass, with here and there a solitary koker tree, and the sides of the hills appear-

ing as if burnt in a furnace with ashes; such was the general representation of the country, excepting the lively green of the trees, which lined the river on both sides. The number of people settled at this wretched place is stated at 636; they are represented as harmless and honest, and as living entirely on the milk of their cattle, and a few roots.

From *Pella* they proceeded homewards, to *Quick-fonteën* and *Silver-fonteën*; and at the latter of these places, is the last house in the colony on this side, inhabited by a missionary family. Shortly after, they reached a boor's house; his name is *Lear*; he had ten daughters, all married, though the parents were not forty years of age. The servants were all *Hottentots*, and so filthy, that they seemed not to have been washed from the time of their birth. "The lady here," says *Mr. Campbell*, "sits with a long stick in her hand, commanding in the tone of a general, and her orders are instantaneously obeyed. The chief articles visible in the house, were skins. There was a low table, and three things which had once been chairs. In the corner was a space enclosed by a mud wall, about eighteen inches high, with some skins spread on the floor of it, which probably was the family bed. Their son, a tall young man, about eighteen years of age, was lying on his back in it, gazing at the strangers. His name was *Daniel*, and the place where he was lying, resembled a den.

The heat of the weather increased to an alarming degree. The thermometer, in the shade, at noon, stood at 101°. The ink became thick, the water warm, and the butter turned into oil; the crows walked about the waggons, as if their occupants were all dead. In these great heats, when no water is at hand, the *Hottentots* dig the ground for cold earth or sand, to rub over their bodies, by which they experience a temporary relief. One of *Mr. Camp-*

bell's party after a long search for their oxen, was drooping for want of water. He said, he felt as if fire was burning him about the small of his back ; but he frequently thrust his head into the middle of a bush, to smell the damp, while his companions dug up cold sand, and applied it to his back ; and this they were obliged to do from bush to bush, till they reached the water.

Nothing can be more miserable, in every respect, than the western coast of Africa. From the Cape to the Kamis-berg, it gradually becomes more sandy and desolate ; between this place and the Orange river, it is all a dreary desert. Since Mr. Campbell's return, a letter has been received from Mr. Schmeten, a missionary on the Namaqua station, of which the following is an extract :—

“ On the 18th of May, I left the great river, continually travelling northward, though with great difficulty ; but I was not able to come near the sea, on account of the mountains and scarcity of water. Sometimes I have been in a dismal wilderness for a fortnight together, without meeting one human creature. I continued travelling northward as far as was possible ; when, on the 5th of July, I could proceed no farther, and was obliged to turn my waggon southward.”

A Mahometan mosque at the Cape Town, is thus described by Mr. Campbell : On Friday, Feb. 11, 1814, I visited a Mahometan mosque. The place was small, the floor was covered with green baize, on which sat about an hundred men, chiefly slaves, Malays and Madagascars. All of them wore clean white robes, made in the fashion of shirts, and white pantaloons, with white cotton cloths set before them, on which they prostrated themselves. They sat in rows, extending from one side of the room to the other. There were six priests, wearing elegant turbans. A chair, having three steps up to it, stood at the east-

end of the place, which had a canopy supported by posts, resembling the tester of a bed without trimmings. Before this chair stood two priests, who chanted something, I suppose, in the Malay language, in the chorus of which the people joined. At one part of it the priests held their ears between the finger and thumb of each hand, continuing to chant, sometimes turning the right elbow upwards and the left downward, and then the reverse. This awkward motion they continued to make for some time. After this form was ended, one of the priests covered his head and face with a white veil, holding in his hand a long black staff, with a silver head. When the other had chanted a little, he mounted a step, seeming to make a dead halt; after a second chanting, he mounted a second step; and in the same way the third, when he sat down upon the chair. He descended in the same manner. The people were frequently, during these proceedings, prostrating themselves in their ranks, as regularly as soldiers exercising. A corpulent priest, then standing in a corner near the chair, repeated something in a very serious singing manner, when the people appeared particularly solemn; after which the service ended.

CHAP. VIII.

Mr. Latrobe—The Moravian Settlements—Gnadenthal and Groenkloof—Hottentot Drivers—Burial Place—Bavian's Kloof—Church at Gnadenthal—Village of Caledon—Wolves and Tigers—Zwellendam—A Yellow Serpent—Criminals executed—Hottentot Waggoners—Incursions of the Caffres—Elephants—The Paerd Kop—Courage and Success—Woman of uncommon size—Civilized Hottentots.

It is obvious that in tracing the steps of successive travellers, who have spent so much time in ex-

ploring the immense regions of Southern Africa, the interesting nature of their narrations has not by any means declined. Mr. Latrobe, the last traveller in this quarter, will, on the contrary, be found not less worthy the attention of the curious than the first. Mr. Latrobe, and his associates in the Moravian mission, left England in the beginning of October 1815, and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 24th of December, where he observed that the variety of faces, complexions, and dresses seen among the common people, is very striking. The greater part are black or tawny. There are not many genuine Hottentots, but various mixtures between Hottentots and slaves, or other natives of the Mozambique shore; but Malays and negroes are here known by the general name of bastards. Many are Mahometans, but there appears to be little animosity among them.

As Mr. Latrobe's object was to visit the Moravian settlements at Gnadenthal, Groenekloof, &c., and to discover a fit place for the establishment of others, he left Cape Town with a caravan, consisting of four waggons. The first drawn by twelve, and the second by fourteen bullocks, were occupied by his party. In the third, a young Englishman, travelling their way, was allowed a seat, though that and the fourth, with fourteen bullocks, was appropriated for baggage and stores for Groenekloof and its neighbourhood. The waggons in use at the Cape have a strong frame-work body, with wheels and axle-trees made of iron-wood. A travelling waggon is furnished with seats suspended by leathern straps to give them play, and with a tilt of matting, covered with sail-cloth, supported by hoops of bamboo. Curtains of sail-cloth or leather, hang before and behind, to secure the company against wind and rain. The bullocks draw by a wooden yoke, consisting of a strong bar, laid across their necks, to which are fixed, in right angles down-

wards, four short pieces, so as to admit the neck of each animal between two of them, and these are tied below with a small thong. A strongly-plaited leathern thong runs from the ring at the end of the pole to the yoke of the first pair of oxen, being fastened in passing to the middle rings in each yoke. The bullocks, by pushing with their shoulders, seem to draw with ease, at least upon level ground. The stick of the Hottentot driver's whip is a strong bamboo, twelve or more feet long, and the lash, a plaited thong of equal or greater length. With this he not only cracks very loud, but hits any one of his bullocks with the greatest surety. But the chief engine of his government is his tongue, and he continually calls to his cattle by their names, directing them to the right or left, by the addition of the exclamations of *hott* and *haar*, occasionally enforcing obedience to his commands by a lash, or by whisking or cracking his whip over their heads. A boy leads the foremost oxen by a thong fastened about their horns, and they seem to follow him willingly.

The English, it appears, have made good roads in the neighbourhood of Cape Town and to Simon's Bay, but Mr. Latrobe's party soon left them, and dragged through deep sand, almost the whole way to Groenekloof. No trees, and but few shrubs, adorn the waste; but the travellers noticed many pretty species of heath, and some elegant flowers unknown to them. The most common plant is the one called the "Hottentot Fig." About sun-set they reached the large salt-pans near the *Riet Valley*, so named from the quantity of reed-rushes growing in it. The settlement of Groenekloof is seen at a distance like a fruitful field in the midst of a desert, and here the whole party were most cordially welcomed. The Hottentots, men, women, and children, with a missionary brother, having come out to meet them



p. 96.

TRAVELLING AT THE CAPE,

Africa.



about an hour's drive from the place; as soon as the waggons had reached the spot, the visitors and the visited, joined in singing a hymn.

Groenkloof is the name given to a district about thirty miles to the north of Table Bay, comprising several large farms. That now occupied by the United Brethren, and more particularly called Groenkloof, was formerly known by the name of *De Kleine Post*, (the Little Post). The house and premises were originally in possession of the Dutch company, but latterly let to a farmer. After the expiration of his lease in 1808, the Earl of Caledon, then governor of the Cape, having observed the benefits arising to the Hottentots from christian instruction, prevailed upon the Brethren's missionaries to form a settlement here. After this period, Hottentots soon flocked to them from various places, both in and out of the colony; and at the end of the year 1815, the number of inhabitants here amounted to three hundred old and young. The Hottentot burial-place, lying on the hill north of the dwellings, is thus described: It is a square piece of ground, divided into four equal compartments by gravel-walks, and surrounded by a mound or ditch. On the mound is planted a fence of cactus, or Indian fig, which growing up, proves a strong barrier against the intrusion of cattle. The graves, according to the custom of the Moravian church, are placed in regular rows. Those of the Hottentots are not marked by grave-stones, but by an upright piece of wood at the head of each, with a number painted on it, referring to the church-register, which records the name and age of the person so buried. From hence the houses and huts of the Hottentots appear in the valley, a little wood separating them from the farm, and the missionaries' dwellings. The valley to the north and east, is bounded by low bushy hills, on which lie several detached fragments of granite of various shapes and sizes. A

group of larger masses, near the old stables, forms a very picturesque assemblage of rock, interspersed with trees, and in many parts covered with aloes. Except in very dry seasons, there is a little rivulet running at their foot towards the village; but these stones and cavities serve as a retreat for the maushuud or mongooses, serpents, salamanders, lizards, mice, and moles. The cottages here are of different dimensions, materials, and workmanship, and some are built of stone walls. In one house, where the people were very neatly dressed, the missionaries were treated with a pie, which tasted well, and the Hottentots were much pleased to see them partake of their humble meal.

After Mr. Latrobe's return to the Cape Town, he spent an afternoon with the Rev. Mr. Hesse, who shewed him the church and premises belonging to the Lutheran congregation there. It is but of late years that the Dutch, being Calvinists, would permit the Lutherans to have an establishment at the Cape; but the spirit of toleration, introduced with the English government, has now set them quite at liberty; and it redounds much to their praise, that though not rich, they have made a most comfortable provision for their minister, and spared no expense in erecting a handsome church and parsonage-house. Mr. Hesse's garden is filled with a great variety of singular plants, trees, and shrubs, the produce of this and more southern regions. The governor is willing to promote every attempt to introduce Christianity among the heathen; but as the commission of a missionary of the methodist community seemed only to have regard to the white settlers, he has met with difficulties; as many persons have great objections, to the multiplying of different religious sects at Cape Town.

Upon another excursion to Gradientsal, Mr. Latrobe went by the way of Hollands Kloof, celebrated

in the journals of the missionaries for its difficult and steep ascent, and the badness of the road. Here, though the twenty-four oxen belonging to the party had been increased to fifty, it was with difficulty that even this number drew the waggons up this steep and rugged road. After passing the summit, the descent is more gradual. Next to this, the Great Bavian, or Gnadenthal mountain, is the most conspicuous, and is said to bear some resemblance to the ranges of the Cumberland and Westmoreland hills, near Winander Meer, and Brathay Vale ; but its foot is not clothed with the rich verdure and beautiful plantations common to England. The entrance into the village of Gnadenthal, is through lanes enclosed by hedge-rows, and the dwellings of the missionaries appear under a grove ; the rapture, therefore, with which this place is spoken of by travellers, is not so astonishing, considering that after they have traversed a dreary uncultivated country, without a tree to screen them from the scorching rays of the sun, they at once find themselves in a situation, in comparison with the former, an earthly paradise.

Gnadenthal, or the Valley of Grace, is about 120 English miles from Cape Town, in a direction nearly due east ; it is the principal settlement of the United Brethren in South Africa. Upon Mr. Latrobe's late arrival at this place, after being met by nearly the whole population, having observed to some of the inhabitants who lived near the church, that their houses were encumbered with dirt before their doors, the whole village fell to work, and in less than half an hour removed all the dirt, ashes, &c., promising that no such disorder should ever be seen again. Mr. Latrobe and the missionaries next went into the great garden, in the centre of which stands the large pear-tree planted by the missionary, G. Schmidt, in 1738.

Owing to its *vast size*, in 1792, it served the Brethren both for a school and a church, the people and their

children sitting under the shade of its wide-spreading branches. From hence they walked into the glen called *Bavians Kloof*, from having been formerly the resort of a great number of baboons. A lively brook, called the Bavians River, issues from the glen, and flowing through the village, falls into the river Sonderend, not far from the ford.

The appearance of the church at Gnadenthal is imposing by its size, the thickness of its walls, which are of unburnt brick, plastered and yellow washed, its arched windows, its high roof; and its gable-ends are serrated, or finished in short steps, with a vane on the point of each. The height of its roof makes it a very conspicuous object in approaching the valley from either side, and nothing is wanting but a slender turret in the centre of the roof, to give it all the appearance of an ancient ecclesiastical building. Two arched windows are placed between the doors, and one between each door and the gable-end. The front towards the village, has also arched windows, and the arches over the doors are glazed. Two columns, about a yard in diameter, support the immense roof, and at first sight surprise every beholder, as they resemble the plainest Saxon columns in some of our cathedrals. The body, with the gallery, which occupies three of its sides, will hold upwards of a thousand persons. The front of the gallery is supported by iron bars, pendent from the beams in the ceiling; the latter is not plastered, but is a neat covering of yellow wood upon a joist. The plain exterior of this gallery is relieved by a very simple, but ingenious contrivance: upright boards, shaped like pilasters, are nailed upon the horizontal planks. The minister's table, placed between the two entrances, is on Sundays converted into a kind of pulpit, by placing a high desk upon it. The whole is covered with green cloth, and elevated on a step above the floor. This step runs the whole length from door to door,

and the space under the gallery at the east end is boarded off as a small vestry. The church is lighted by three lamps, one in the centre, and one on each side. The congregation sit on benches, the men on the east, the women on the west side of the building ; and both below, and above in the gallery, a space of about two yards down the middle, forms a passage between them. The belfry, which not till after the arrival of the English, the missionaries were permitted to build, stands in the middle of the grove. It is an arch, supported by substantial pilasters whitened. The bell is used for every purpose of call to church, to school or to meals, and consequently is rung eight or nine times a day.

As Mr. Latrobe, while at Gnadenthal, advised the erection of some new buildings for the better accommodation of the people there, he had an opportunity of observing the Hottentot character as to industry. " It is true," he says, " that from affection and gratitude to the missionaries, they will engage to work : if, however, they have no relish for it themselves, they are apt to go about it rather sluggishly. But if the work please them, which was here the case, no European workmen exceed them in spirit and attention ; only the execution must not last too long, lest like children they begin to get tired of it. They are flattered and pleased when visited by their employers while at work, particularly if the latter take some share in it, and now and then afford assistance, if only by removing a stone, or lending a hand to lift a beam."

It should have been observed that the village of Gnadenthal contains about 256 cottages and huts, and a population of 1,276 inhabitants. Some of the new people, who are permitted to reside here on trial, or the poorest of the inhabitants, put up a hut made of a few upright poles, with wattling of reeds, rushes, or cane, covered with clay, and a good thatched roof.

None of them are fond of too much light, so that one window, or two at most, generally serves the whole house, and before this they frequently hang a curtain of sheep-skin to keep out the sun's rays.

In some of the dwellings, the children of the poor, particularly the little boys, go naked, and some of the men only wear karosses and aprons after the old Hottentot fashion. Those who have better earnings soon provide themselves with jackets and trowsers, and other articles of European dress, which they always wear on Sundays, clothing their children in linen or calico shirts, trowsers, or petticoats. The head-dress of the women is a handkerchief, neatly surrounding their heads, above the ears, with a loop in front. Mr. Latrobe who, at first, with others, had regretted that from the beginning no regular plan had been followed, by degrees became pleased with the romantic irregularity of the interior of this village, when walking among the hedges in a serpentine foot-path, he unexpectedly met with a snug cottage, under cover of a quince, fig, and other fruit-trees, and an assemblage of women and children sitting at work under their shade. Another day he observed that he heard, with much pleasure, a party of men and women, employed as day-labourers in the missionaries' garden, both before and after their meal, which they enjoyed in the shade of the grove, most melodiously singing a verse by way of a grace. One of the women sung a correct second, and very sweetly performed that figure in music, called *Retardation*, from which he judged that dissonants are not the invention of art, but the production of nature; and that nothing would be more easy than to form a chorus of the most delightful voices in four parts, from this smooth-throated nation.

The new town or village of Caledon, is described as a sapling rising out of the ground; the houses are neat, and the church in form of a cross, without a

steeple. The circumjacent country is naked, and a barren waste, except a few green spots of cultivation in the vale. The warm-baths are about one English mile beyond the town, under the south declivity of the Zwarteberg mountain, which is an assemblage of black, barren, rocky, hillocks, rising one above the other, in strange confusion, inhabited only by jackals, wolves, tigers, and serpents. This hill stretches about ten English miles in a south-west and north-west direction, and is perfectly barren.

Mr. Latrobe and his companion then passed through a farm, where, by an act of justice till lately unknown in that country, the possessors were taught that English law admits of no respect of persons, but when administered according to the constitution, affords security and justice equally to the highest and lowest ranks of society. The wife, with the assistance of her daughter, a girl about eighteen years of age, had most unmercifully beaten a female slave in their service, though with child, wounding her from head to foot. They were found guilty by the judge at the circuit lately established in this colony, and condemned to pay three hundred rix-dollars fine, two thousand rix-dollars costs of suit, and that their slaves should all be sold, but not to one of their family. The farm appeared to be in a very dilapidated state.

On the road some distance hence, some Hottentots called to the party to shew them a tree-serpent they had just found. It was a beautiful creature, about four feet long, mottled grey on the back, with a gold yellow belly; they are said to be very venomous. One evening when Mr. Latrobe was drawing, by the help of the camera obscura, several Hottentots gathered round him, whom he gratified by letting them peep in alternately, after which one called to another, passing by "*Come and peep Susan, Mynheer has brought the church and all the trees into his box.*"

Pursuing their journey, they learned that tigers are not often seen in that quarter ; they skulk about the cattle Kraals, and in the woods, but wolves roam singly, all over the downy or heathy country. The wild dogs go in packs, are very bold and mischievous, and will set upon oxen, horses, and sheep, in spite of watchmen and dogs. These and the wolves attack always either from behind or in flank, never in front as a tiger does. A Mr. Linde related that a wood-keeper he employed in the kloofs, had lately lost his life by the bite of a berg-adder, and died in about three hours. Some time after one of his oxen was bitten by a puff-adder, and died the same night. The bite of the nachtslange, or night-serpent, is said by the Hottentot poison-doctors, to be incurable. It is a beautiful reptile, marked with dark blue or black, vermilion, and yellow rings, following each other from head to tail.

The Hottentot mode of burying in the Moravian settlements is this ; the corpse being neatly tied or sewed up in skins, is laid on a bier, and covered with a white sheet. The bier is borne by six men, members of the congregation, dressed in white jackets, and trowsers. After the funeral discourse, as soon as the people have arranged themselves in the front of the church, a verse is sung, treating of the happiness of those who have departed this life in the faith of Christ. The boy's school begins the procession, then follows the minister, preceding the corpse, the relations next, and lastly, the rest of the congregation, two by two ; the men or women taking the lead according to the sex of the deceased. As soon as the company arrive at the burial-ground, the bier being placed next the grave, the congregation range themselves round in order. The liturgy at burials is then read, during which two of the bearers descending *into the grave*, receive the body from those above and place it in a recess, made on one side at the

bottom. The service being concluded, bushes or branches of trees are put in as high as the top of the recess, and the earth thrown in upon them. The origin of this custom is unknown, but as it is done with the greatest decency, the missionaries have wisely refrained from altering it. Europeans are buried in the manner usual in Europe.

Zwellendam is described as being situated under the highest part of a range of lofty mountains, whose rocky summits assume all manner of singular shapes. Two peaks, like truncated cones, form their principal feature, and the kloofs and beds of torrents, with which their steep sides are furrowed, make almost a terrific appearance. What is called the drosty, is a substantial, spacious, well-furnished mansion, and the premises have been much improved by the late landrost. The town lies scattered, and consists of several rows of building and single houses ; and the church is a neat plain structure without a tower. The number of inhabitants is about three hundred. Since the slave trade has been abolished, the slaves remaining in the colony are sold at an enormous price, particularly if they are skilled in any art ; the services of the Hottentots are more wanted in the cultivation of the land. Thus they have been taught better to know their own value, and will no longer submit to the treatment they formerly received. Being, both by the Dutch and English laws, a free nation, they cannot be compelled to serve an unjust and tyrannical master ; and if many of them remain in poverty or misery, it will be solely owing to their natural indolence.

At Hartenbosch they learned that tigers and wolves, now and then, commit depredations : wild buffaloes are sometimes seen ; but wild dogs are numerous and most to be dreaded. A wolf hunts only at night, is cowardly, and may be guarded against by various means ; but the wild dogs go in

troops and hunt night and day. They attack every living animal, and the dread of man is but a slight restraint upon them. If they have killed a tame animal they will quit it, on being attacked by man, but not if their prey is wild game. Not long ago a troop of them hunted a rehbok into a farmer's yard. The farmer sallied forth with his gun to drive off the pursuers and secure the fugitive for his table, but was instantly attacked by the wild dogs, and his life with difficulty saved by his people. Porcupines are numerous; serpents creep into the poultry-yards and houses and do mischief. A person getting up in the dark, and walking into the hall of his house, felt something like a rope about his legs. On calling for a light, he discovered it to be a yellow serpent. Had he actually trodden upon it, he would probably have been bitten by this dangerous reptile.

George is a new district, town, and drosty, settled by Sir J. Cradock, when he was Governor of the Cape. This town has about one hundred inhabitants. The houses are two stories high, having an *erker* or bow window over the door. They stand detached by intermediate gardens, and form a broad street facing the drosty, or landrost's mansion; from which, turning in a right angle towards the south, another street has been begun, containing the church, parsonage, and school house. The town is watered very scantily by the Zwaart river, a small stream from the mountains; but this, unlike the others, flows both in the dry and rainy season.

During Mr. Latrobe's stay in this part of Africa, five rebellious boors were executed at Uitenhagen. The hangman was a black. The halters were too weak, or rather, as some suspected, intentionally cut, and no sooner were the delinquents turned off and the platform removed, than four out of the five, fell from *the gallows*. Having unfortunately been persuaded *that, by English custom, a man thus falling down is*

free, the poor wretches cried for mercy ; and one addressing the by-standers, exclaimed “ that by this accident it was manifest that God would not permit them to be put to death.” Colonel Cuyler, the land-roast, however, was compelled to let justice take its course, and other halters being procured, they were launched into eternity. They all acknowledged the justice of their sentence and appeared truly penitent. Not many spectators attended ; but their wives and relatives were present, a circumstance very difficult to explain by the standard of English feeling ; and as the Cape regiment and a party of dragoons were on duty, there was no disturbance. This is said to be the first time that any of the Africans, descendants from Europeans, have suffered death for crimes deemed capital in Europe. Government had so often extended mercy to such as deserved condign punishment, that the rebels at length believed no government would take away their lives for any crime committed against the state. It became necessary, therefore, to make an example, and out of the twenty-four condemned to die, five of the most notorious offenders had been selected for the purpose. The rest were punished with imprisonment, forfeiture, or banishment.

Leaving the new settlement of George, the travellers’ road lay in a line nearly parallel to the high range of mountains, which here take a direction towards the Indian ocean ; and after crossing several pleasant and well-wooded vales, they reached Kayman’s Gat. The view of this glen is both magnificent and terrific. At first the road slopes down gradually through a thicket, with large trees interspersed. A deep ravine to the right receives the Zwaart river, the same which passes by the drosty at George, which rushing over rocks out of sight, below the road, causes a considerable roar, and adds to the grandeur of the scene. *It is the extreme unevenness of the road which renders the passage of Kayman’s Gat so dan-*

gerous, where nature has not yet been assisted by art; as the traveller must pass over steps from one to two feet perpendicular height, the waggons bounce and reel from side to side in such a manner that but for the management of the Hottentots, accustomed to such service, they would be in continual danger of falling. They support the waggon by thongs, fastened to each side, pulling with all their might to the right or left, as otherwise the poor beast staggering before them, would, with the waggons, be precipitated into the abyss beneath. Long before this party had reached the bottom of this glen, the animals seemed quite confused, the shaft oxen being almost thrown down, the waggon nearly falling upon them, and the rest of the spann, or team, sometimes goaded on to draw, and then again restrained to prevent mischief. It being ebb tide they passed the Kayman's river without difficulty, and gave a few moments' rest to their affrighted cattle, upon whom they were going to draw still more largely to get the waggons up the rocky acclivities of the eastern bank. The view of the glen from below, is majestic; the steeps on both sides are clothed with a noble forest. Strata of red rock, shelving down the western bank, form a singular contrast with the lively green of the bushes on the slopes between them. A deep chasm receives the Zwaart river, and forms the gat, or crocodile's cave, in the dark recesses of which, a water-fall glistens, by the admission of a faint light from above. Several glens meet here, all filled with wood, through which the river is swelled by the mountain torrents. It must always be crossed at low water. The eastern bank is, if possible, more steep and rugged than the western. The baggage waggon took the lead, but having laboured hard for about two hundred paces, the oxen refused to stir another step. No shouts of the drivers, cracking of the whips, or hard blows, could make the poor dispirited beasts move forward; but when

farther urged, they turned sharp round, and threw the whole team into such confusion that the waggon was in danger of rolling down and dragging the shaft oxen backwards. It then became necessary to bring up twelve oxen of the second team, and it afforded a singular spectacle to see twenty-six oxen, with all their might, working the waggon up the layers of rock, and resting every five minutes to take breath. After the heavy waggon had reached the summit, both teams were sent down to fetch up the travelling waggon, which being lighter, was more easily accomplished. The exhausted oxen made more objections to put forth their remaining strength on the eastern bank than at Kayman's Gat, and shouts and lashes seemed to have lost their effect. They turned round, entangled themselves with the tackle, and more than once ten or twelve of them were obliged to be unyoked to bring them again into order. After sun-set the party closed the adventurous business of the day, and arrived at Mr. Zaayman's farm, where the houses or hovels were wretched, but the inhabitants friendly, and the travellers were soon provided with a good supper, their only meal that day. Here Mr. Latrobe's fire-box was exhibited to the utter astonishment of all present. At the next house they were regaled with excellent white bread and butter, sweet milk, wild honey of the most delicious flavour, and peaches and pears. The owner of this house having lately shot four tigers, exhibited their skins; the largest measured five feet six inches, from the nose to the root of the tail, the tail itself four feet. It had seized a young heifer by the throat, whose bellowings and groans brought the farmer to the spot, when he shot the tiger through the body. The brightness of the colours in its skin was remarkable.

Here, for the first time, the party saw a proof of the devastation made by the Caffres during the late war; and the inhabitants, fearing a repetition of the

incursions by those savages, had not ventured to rebuild their houses, but were satisfied with living in little huts, not much better than those of the Hot-tentots.

Having arrived within sight of the Indian Ocean, the estuary of the Kuysa, and afterwards at Mr. Rex's farm at some distance beyond it, while at supper, and for some time during an early part of the night, they were treated with a horrid serenade by wolves, which, as well as tigers, are said to be numerous in this woody part of the country; and they were not without their fears for their oxen, feeding loose near their encampment.

The immense forests of Plettenberg Bay, are inhabited by elephants, buffaloes, tigers, wolves and wild boars; where having little to dread from man, they are seldom seen by the traveller, especially during the day; so that Mr. Latrobe's party were never amused by the gambols of tigers or leopards near the road. Neither in passing through the woods, is any thing heard of that cheerful chirping and singing of birds, nor of the busy hum of flying insects, so common in our own and other European forests. Upon the banks of a brook running from the mountains towards the sea, they found the larger species of the bukku, one of the most aromatic and medicinal plants in the country, and, accordingly, the most esteemed for its healing qualities. Its leaves steeped in brandy or vinegar, and the bottle placed in the heat of the sun, emit an unctuous juice, which becoming as thick as honey, is good for contusions, sores, &c., applied externally.

The party having forded the Wittedrift, a brook running into the Kierboom's river, obtained a full view of Plettenberg's bay. The vessel, regularly employed to convey timber to the Cape, lay at anchor not far from shore. Here, while Mr. Melville was *mainly* following one of those cunning birds, the wild *peacock*, a blue bock, one of the smallest antelopes,

started up not far from the road. The Hottentot^s could not resist the temptation ; the people belonging to the party, and the guides and drivers, left the waggon, and with two dogs set off full speed in pursuit. As this animal is not so swift as others of the same kind, he may be run down by a swift-footed Hottentot ; and now, but for his dexterous turnings and doublings, would have been taken, had he not reached a wood, and thus narrowly escaped. Both the chase, and the disappointed looks of the returning huntsman, were equally amusing. The fur of the blue-bok is remarkably fine, and of a brown colour, changing into a bluish grey. Being quite dark before the party reached a farm, they kindled a fire, and after a supper of coffee, bread and honey, lay down to rest. They were, however, prevented going to sleep till near two o'clock in the morning by a drunken Hottentot, who could not be brought to reason by exhortation or force, till in quarrelling and fighting with a woman, he had bitten a piece out of her arm.

When they reached the mountain called the Paerdkop, (Horse's Head) with the help of the men bearing the waggon up on either side as the slope of the road required, and suffering the cattle to rest every two or three minutes, they at length surmounted every difficulty in the ascent. Passing through a rocky glen, Mr. Latrobe mentions meeting an old grey-headed Hottentot, with a long beard, dressed only in a kaross and an apron. He presented him with a few doppelgens, (penny-pieces), was thanked, and told by the Hottentot, that of all things in the world he loved money best. Proceeding forward, it was observed, that they had now arrived among kloofs and low hills, each of which, however, would have obtained the name of mountain in the midland counties of England. They are uniformly very steep ; and the ravines dividing them, full of huge stones, rocks and bushes. *To have any conception of such a truly horrid region,*

it is necessary to pass through it. In making the passage over the Paerdkop into the Lang Kloof, this party thought themselves highly favoured; as, had it rained, they might have been detained in the mountains many days, as is the fate of several travellers here. Having, after a dangerous passage over many a hill and glen, arrived in a valley enclosed on all sides by steep banks, and got a luncheon of bread and honey, one of the Brethren mounted a rock unobserved, and played on his flute a favourite hymn-tune, in which all the party joined. Their musician afterwards regaled the English ears among them, with "*God save Great George our King,*" which, it may be ventured to say, was never before heard in this part of His Majesty's dominions.

Soon after this, one of their young drivers related to his companions, that at the round Kraal they visited the day before, he watched a tiger for several nights successively climbing up the poles of the hen-roost. This is a platform made of branches of trees, covered with bushes or grass, supported by four or more uprights, about ten or twelve feet high, to which the cocks and hens fly about sun-set, and there roost during the night, out of the reach of mauschunds, foxes, and other destructive animals. Nor can tigers or wild cats well scramble up a smooth pole, with an overhanging superstructure. The tiger had succeeded in seizing one or two chickens near the edge of the roost, and the Hottentot was determined to put a stop to his thieving. He made two small holes in the side of the kraal, one for the muzzle of his gun, the other for his eye, behind which he lay in ambush. The tiger soon came, and clasping one of the poles with his claws, seemed contriving how best to mount the platform. At that moment the lad fired, and the animal fell, but uttered so loud a roar, that thinking him yet alive, and likely in his fury to make an attack upon the kraal, he first let out his dog, who soon put an end to

the tiger's life, as he had received the shot through his body.

At the house of a Mr. Fereira, who filled the office of veld-cornet, after being entertained with some excellent rehbok venison, the son, an intelligent young man, related a singular instance of courage and good fortune in his father. A large tiger having long infested his premises and the neighbourhood, and killed many sheep, a party assembled to destroy the depredator. His haunt being discovered, Mr. Ferèira was foremost in the attack, when the tiger instantly made a spring at him as he sat on horseback, the rest of the party not having come up, and only one slave being with him. The horse taking fright, ran off without his rider, who was but slightly wounded. The tiger was now attacked by all the dogs, and encouraged by the usual cry of *zaza, zaza*. The enraged animal hearing this cry, quitted the dogs, and flew a second time at Mr. Fereira's head, when with one gripe he tore off his scalp, and threw him on the ground, where he was proceeding with teeth and claws to put an end to his existence. The faithful slave seeing his master in this imminent danger, ran to his assistance, and attempted to stab the tiger with a knife. The infuriated beast, however, was too quick for him, seized his hand with his teeth, and flung him upon his master, doing his best to kill them both; which, by his strength and swiftness of motion, he probably would have accomplished, had not the other huntsmen shot him through the heart, and thus delivered the sufferers. Mr. Fereira was so much hurt that his life was for some time despaired off, but he finally recovered.

- At one of their subsequent stations at Jagersbosch, a farm belonging to a German named Akkerman, a tiger had just been killed by one of his Hottentots, and two dragoons were helping him to skin the animal, the carcase being still warm. The Hottentot having discovered his haunt, went out with ten dogs, but

without any other weapon than a club. As soon as the animal perceived them advancing, he fixed his fiery eyes upon the man, and flew towards him. The Hottentot presented his kaross as a shield, and succeeded in warding off the stroke; and throwing the tiger on his back, the dogs instantly fell upon him, and kept him down till the Hottentot had an opportunity of hitting him several severe blows on the head, with his club, by which he was stunned, and then stoned to death. As the skin was not injured, Mr. La Trobe purchased it on his return that way; when he found it well tanned. The time before Mr. Akkerman's oxen returned from the hills, was spent in various useful employments, till the party again set off, keeping for many miles along the banks of the Kromm river. They passed two farms, which, as they were informed, had been deserted by their possessors on account of their inability to pay for measurement and taxation. In fact, what was called "English taxation," was the never-failing subject of complaint at several places which they passed.

One night when asleep, Mr. Latrobe awoke and heard distinctly an unknown noise, seemingly not far from the tent, resembling both the growl of an angry cat, and the low bleating of a calf. Perceiving Brother Schmitt to be awake, he asked softly, "Do you hear *that*?" "Aye, said he, I have been listening to it for some time: no good comes out of that throat." In the morning the Hottentots, who had likewise heard it, pronounced it to have been the roar of a tiger.

Having sent to procure some milk of a farmer's wife living on a hill eastward of their camp, she was found to be a woman of an uncommon size, occupying a huge arm-chair, above a yard wide, out of which she was scarcely able to lift herself. She had expressed a wish to see the whole of the party; and being kindly invited, they went to pay the lady a morning visit at her own house. It consisted of an oblong

quare, enclosed in a wall of unburnt bricks, one half of which was covered with a roof of rushes. The entrance was through the uncovered part. In this vestibule, three or four naked slave children were crawling about; a woman partially clothed in rags, with a child strapped to her breast, was cooking some victuals at a fire; and dirt, guts, old shoes, rags of sheepskins, and other filth, occupied every part of these premises. On entering the principal apartment, the first thing that met the eye, was the carcase of a sheep just killed, hanging from the cross-beam, with a pool of blood on the clay floor: under the head, five fox-coloured cats were sitting round, watching for their share of the spoil. A milk-pail, a churn, and some other kitchen utensils, were seen on the right; and to the left, the lady herself, who kindly invited Sister Schmitt to come and sit down by her on a stool, between her and the pendent carcase. The hostess entered very freely into conversation, and told the visitors, that notwithstanding her enormous bulk, she was only forty-three years old; and good-humouredly observed, that Sister Schmitt looked now only like a little girl, passing several jokes on the difference between them. Her face still retained some remains of vivacity and comeliness. Her body entirely filled the vast chair she sat in, and her elbows rested on its arms. She intended soon to remove to another habitation on Serjeant's river; and it was observed, that when once hoisted into the waggon, she would be able to quit it no more till she arrived at the place of her destination. From her wooden throne she issued her commands to her slaves, Hottentots and brutes, with the same shrill voice for which the African females are noted. Close to the dwelling was the beast kraal; and the surrounding premises exhibited a chaos of lumber, rags, ruin, and disorder, not to be described. Through all this Augean stable ran a small stream of spring-water, in vain offering its aid to cleanse it. The lady,

however, conscious of mortality, had already provided herself with a coffin of immense size, which with her gigantic bed, was screened from the apartment by a bulk head of matting.

One of the veld-cornets expressed his admiration of the appearance and behaviour of the Hottentots accompanying the missionaries, exhibiting, as he said, such a contrast to that of the rest of this miserable and neglected race, living amongst the boors. Nothing was more encouraging and satisfactory to the travellers than such remarks; nor could there be a more convincing proof of the benefit conferred upon these people by the introduction of Christianity.

CHAP. IX.

Soete Kloof—Large Aloes—Tigers—Uitenhagen A tame Lion—A Monkey Bethelsdorp—Vander Kemp's Dwelling—Beautiful Glens—Female Elocution—Soldier killed by an Elephant—Baboons—Mr. Osterhuysen—the Zuurberg—A military Post—Great Fish River—Somerset—Ostriches, Serpents, &c.—A Bush Cat—Adventures of an Ape—Vlachdorn, a singular Plant.

SETTING off towards Soete Kloof, in a country apparently level, but full of dells and gullies, among a variety of bushes and flowering shrubs, they met with large aloes interspersed, which, with their broad leaves, form a striking contrast with the smaller leaved evergreens that surround them. The flower consists of seven branches, one in the centre, and six surrounding it at regular distances. The centre branch was a foot and a half long, the rest about thirteen inches; all thickly covered with a succession of long bell-shaped flowers, each orange-coloured at the stem, and passing into bright vermilion towards the top. The brilliant

appearance of this huge flower, or mass of flowers, disposed like a chandelier, and mounted on a stem six feet in height, with a capital of massive leaves, spreading above three feet in diameter, is beyond conception grand. Hardly a spot exists here, in which some curious and beautiful plant does not rear its head in its proper season; and in the midst of this brown desert, the magnificent chandelier, or red star-flower, is seen measuring from four or five inches to a foot and a half, in the spread of its rays, growing luxuriantly among stones and sand. Sometimes the elegant, but troublesome mimosa, occupies the greatest part of a wood, so as to render it in some cases impervious.

On their way to Uitenhagen, during the night Sister Schmitt was alarmed by distinctly hearing tigers growling. She got up quietly, the dog Rambler following her, and went to the Hottentots, who were lying about the fire, and by their report she found she was not mistaken. No traveller, however, need to be afraid of a tiger of this country entering a tent; for unless attacked, or conceiving himself in danger, he cautiously avoids meddling with man. Whenever met with in an open field, if he has an opportunity to escape, he makes off slowly, and crouching like a cat; but if prevented from escaping, is most furious and determined on self-defence. The woods about the Chamtoos and Louri rivers, are said to abound with them; the hills, though not high, are full of caverns and broken rocks, and the number of glens intersecting each other in every direction, afford the best cover for all kinds of ravenous animals. Cattle are not considered safe feeding in the woods or fields, and scarcely so in the kraals and pens.

Uitenhagen is described as presenting itself pleasantly, with its few white houses; and the mansion of Colonel Cuyler, the landrost, is at the foot of a range of low hills. He lamented his not being able to

accommodate the whole party, as his rooms were occupied by officers of government ; but very obligingly offered Mr. Latrobe a room in his house, which, as the latter did not like to be separated from his party, was civilly declined. Colonel Cuyler pointed out several places at which he thought it might be eligible for the Brethren to make a new settlement ; and wished them in particular to visit the Zondags, Sunday's river. An afternoon was very agreeably spent with the landrost and his lady at the drosty. After dinner they visited a young lion chained in the yard, larger than a mastiff, remarkably tame, of the large black breed, or, having a black mane, and black bush at the end of his tail, but otherwise of a dingy brown, or tawny colour. Like others of the feline tribe, he seemed fond of being stroked and patted, and like a house cat, shoved up against the person fondling him. Yet Mr. Latrobe observed, it appeared prudent to keep one's hand at a respectful distance from his wide mouth. He continually uttered a kind of friendly growl, the double-base to a cat's purring. A silver-grey monkey also, full of tricks, diverted the party for some time. He had been a great favourite in the family, till for interfering too much with the children's victuals, and doing other mischief, he was sentenced to exhibit his pranks in the yard on a pole with a bar across it. As Colonel Cuyler entered with much interest into the business the missionaries were engaged in, it appeared that his lady had visited Gnadenthal ; and being so near Bethelsdorp, the principal establishment of the Missionary Society in London, he offered to furnish them with a travelling waggon, in order that they might visit that place. About eight o'clock next morning, they accordingly set out. The road is not interesting ; but after crossing the Zwartzkop's river, about an English mile from Uitenhagen, it runs over a wild level country, till within sight of the village. Here they were received with kindness by the

resident missionaries, Mr. Messer and Hooper, Mr. Read, the principal or director of all the establishments being absent. Mr. Latrobe had been willing to believe, that the very unfavourable accounts given by travellers of Bethelsdorp, had been greatly exaggerated; but he was sorry to say, that as to its external situation, nothing could be more miserable and discouraging; and he could not help expressing his surprise, that a society possessed of such ample means, would suffer any of their settlements to remain in so disgraceful a state; though he seems to admit Mr. Campbell's apology, as to the badness of the local choice made by the late Dr. Vander Kemp; who, out of the many offered him, at length sat down in the most barren, desolate and unpromising place in all South Africa. His successors, however, are to be pitied, as not only being obliged to dwell in a spot incorrigibly bad, but continually to hear the severe remarks made upon its wretched appearance. Excepting two or three ragged speckbooms standing before Mr. Read's house, not a tree is to be seen. The hills about the village are completely barren, and their outlines tame and uninteresting. The small brook here is quite insufficient for the purposes of irrigation, or to supply water for a mill. As most of the inhabitants were then at work with the boors or farmers, the visitors did not see many of them, nor did they shew any indications of familiarity, and the arrival of the strangers' waggons seemed to excite no curiosity whatever. Hence the difference of their reception with these Christian converts and those of Gnadenthal, was even perceptible to the Hottentots themselves, who made some sensible remarks upon it.

The visiting missionaries, however, were treated with more kindness and brotherly affection by the residents; and though it happened to be a busy day with them, several affairs of house-keeping, baking,

brewing, &c., having been undertaken, and though the unexpected visit seemed out of season, yet they exerted themselves to make it agreeable to the strangers. Mrs. Messer provided a good dinner, and her husband devoted himself as much to them as he could, consistently with the necessary operations already commenced. In the mean while Mr. Latrobe made a few sketches of the interior of the settlement, chiefly of the church and Dr. Vander Kemp's dwelling, each of which are singular monuments of the peculiarity of his taste. The former is an angular structure, or rather, it consists of two buildings placed together, nearly in a right angle. The inner walls meet; the outer are connected by a wall elliptical in its form. In the middle of this junction the minister's seat and desk are placed, so that he may be seen and heard by the whole audience, though the men and women, who sit separately, cannot see each other. The building is low with small square windows, thatched and without a ceiling. A small room or closet is boarded off on the men's side, containing what is called the library, consisting chiefly of books for the use of the school. A few minerals and stones brought from the Letakoo and the Namaqua country, constitute the museum. Dr. Vander Kemp's house is about eight feet square, made of unburnt brick, and covered with thatch. It stands near the church, and was left by him in possession of the mother of the Hottentot woman whom he married.

Complaints having been made that the villages and huts in Bethelsdorp lie scattered, it is but justice to acknowledge, that a beginning has been made of forming regular streets, with houses of unburnt brick; a new school-house, with a printing-office annexed, was also in a state of forwardness. The mill, however, was quite out of repair and useless; nor was the mill-course well contrived, so as to obtain the full force of their scanty supply of water; neither the

carpenters nor the smith's shop had been used for some time ; though Mr. Messer with great labour had made a garden which produced a good crop. The other gardens do not look well for want of trees and hedges. As the people here were timid and reserved, it appeared that Dr. Vander Kemp's caution against making too free with strangers, had created in their minds a mode of conduct which they did not all understand when to lay aside.

By the persuasion of the landrost, the party now determined to visit the White River and Bruntjes Hoogte, in order that they might not leave any thing relative to the business committed to them unfinished, but particularly with a view to the selection of a spot proper to establish a new settlement.

The next place they touched was on the Kouga river, where they found a friendly family, from whom they purchased milk and butter. Admiring a large favourite cat, the farmer told them he valued that creature as much as the best of his numerous dogs. She not only destroyed mice and rats, but even large snakes, which she attacked by beating them about the head, till they were quite stupified, then seizing them by the neck killed them with her teeth.

At length, having arrived at a farm belonging to Mr. Jacobus Scheper, and seen that of Mr. Scheper, junior, with the beauty of the glen which led to these, the party were almost enchanted. At first some objections were made to its want of breadth, which on entering appeared little more than a few hundred yards. When they had advanced about a quarter of a mile, the hills began to recede on both sides ; these are high and full of kloofs, containing large timber. At every turn the outline of the hill varies, presenting some picturesque scenery.' About the middle of the vale is a high red-rock, rising perpendicularly, *and beyond it a large sheet of water.* It would be tedious to particularize the various beautiful objects surrounding this place, but Mr. Latrobe and all his

companions agreed that it was one of the most eligible spots they had seen during the whole journey. To the right, a steep woody bank, terminated in a high black rock, on which stood a tall tree, spreading its branches above the rest, and under this Mr. Scheper had placed a seat, from whence he might fire upon the elephants passing through his premises, without danger of attack from them if not immediately killed. The old farm-house and out-houses were demolished by the Caffres fifteen years ago, and the dwelling erected in its place is not much better than a Hottentot's. Mrs. Scheper was at home and gave the travellers a friendly reception. Some English dragoons, also stationed there, were highly pleased with a visit from their countrymen. Mr. Latrobe observed, that if this delightful spot were situated in a country where protection might be had from wild beasts, and still wilder men, it would be coveted by every lover of fine scenery, and fetch a great price. But here it is of little value as long as the unhappy differences exist between the Caffres and the boors, even when no actual war is carried on. Mrs. Scheper, who is a person of better appearance and manners than many of her class, grew eloquent in describing their situation: "What signifies?" said she, "our building a good house to live in, and substantial and expensive premises, in a place like this, when, before we are aware, the Caffres push through the wood, set all on fire, and murder those who cannot save themselves by flight? Again, what pleasure can we have in a fine garden, stocked with good fruit-trees and garden stuff; when, after all our trouble, the elephants descend from the kloofs, break through fences and railings as if nothing was in their way, pull up or tear in pieces our trees, trample down or devour all our crops, and lay the whole garden waste? No, we must make a shift as well as we can, and the less we have to lose the less we have to regret." *This beautiful valley is at present the habitation*

several wild animals, but would cease to be so if occupied by any number of human beings. It is now merely the passage of a few persons, between the farms at each end, excepting the soldiers when military posts are here. The party were told that some time ago, a soldier walking alone, came suddenly upon an elephant, which may sometimes happen if the creature is to leeward, so as not to perceive the approach of man by his smell. Whether the soldier made the first attack or not, is unknown, but the elephant, after treading off his leg, thigh, and hip, threw his body into the bushes. The limb, trodden to pieces, was found in the road, with his cap and accoutrements, but not the body till after some days. The elephant and rhinoceros consider large bushes as no more impediments than a man does tufts of grass in a field. They are not to be stopped by common fences or palings, but will walk unconcerned through the thickest underwood, in a straight line, tearing or pressing down even stout thorn bushes, with stems as thick as a man's leg; however, these creatures always retire in proportion as the habitations of man increase about their haunts.

Riebeck, the first Dutch governor of the Cape of Good Hope, relates many instances of ravages committed by lions, tigers, and other ferocious animals, in Cape Town itself, when the whole country around was infested with them; but now though the population is but thin, they have retreated into the most distant parts of the colony. Before the Moravian missionaries settled at Bavian's Kloof, it was the haunt of hundreds of baboons, and other wild animals; these have also retreated by degrees, and seldom come down from the mountains to steal peaches or other fruit. The ringing of bells, cracking of whips, and firing of guns, often repeated, will, eventually drive them away, though they frequently dispute possession for a time.

In proceeding to the Zuurberg, the party next touched at Kourney, and met with a Mr. Osterhuyzen, a man upwards of seventy years of age, but remarkably lively and full of anecdotes, which he related with great spirit. After supper the missionaries were desired to read and pray with the family, all the slaves and Hottentots being admitted.

Leaving this house, and arriving at Sand Vlachte, another farm in a dreary flat, they found soldiers quartered, as a guard against the Caffres, who had recently conducted their irruptions with great boldness. The military live in huts, constructed of reeds and rushes. On arriving at the foot of the Zuurberg, which is very steep, the oxen again made a dead stand, but extorting some resting-time from their impatient masters, they at length dragged the waggons up the hill. After quitting the wood at the declivity, a barren heath afforded the party an extensive prospect; for looking forward, their guides pointed out to them at a vast distance the Boschberg, the proposed extent of their journey. Among other rare plants on the Zuurberg, they noticed a species of the wageboom. Here they were overtaken by ten dragoons, and gratified in being able to serve one of them by taking his and his horse's accoutrements into their waggon, his horse being unwell and obliged to be led. At the bottom of the hill they encamped near a farm, destroyed by the Caffres, and subsequently forsaken; and a few puddles of muddy water was all that could be found for the party and their wearied oxen.

On leaving this place they ascended a wide waste, similar to the Karroo, in view of a range of hills connected with the Zuurberg, and remarkable for the regular division by kloofs, so common in that country. Each of these has a hillock at its foot, in the shape of a cushion.

Having missed their way, through the ignorance and obstinacy of one of their guides, they passed a

farm burnt by the Caffres, when either by accident or design, the best kraal was fired. The immense quantity of dung, heaped up for years, and now as dry as chaff, was yet smothering, and volumes of smoke issuing from it. The house and several soldiers' huts stood empty. About two in the afternoon they reached Commadocha, a military post just forsaken; here they flattered themselves that they should meet with a fresh supply of good water, milk, and other articles : but not a dog came forth to notice their arrival, much less a human being. The place was surrounded by a mud-wall and a ditch. Loop-holes in the former, and small bastions at the angles, were sufficient to resist any attack of the undisciplined Caffres. This lonely place they entered with caution, but found every part of it stripped of furniture. Two or three old hats might have been very serviceable to the Hottentots with the party, but they would not take them, observing their owners were not there to permit it. The missionaries acted with the same scrupulosity in leaving three pigs, and a number of hens and chickens running about the gardens and bushes. Three small dogs, nearly dead with hunger, were lying within the wall. A fine cat came purring towards them, which they fed, and intended to carry to the next post, but she could not be made to stay in the waggon.

The party leaving this place, after resting a short time, arrived at another military station, commanded by a Lieutenant Forbes. The lieutenant and Ensign Dingley offered them every assistance, and being in want of several articles, they procured them from the contractor, whose shop was situated on the other side of a narrow vale. The ensign soon fetched them back to his hut, and insisted on getting a dinner cooked for them. Want of time made them decline this offer, but not that of taking coffee with the lieutenant, who presented Sister Schmitt with a loaf of

wheaten bread of superior excellence, which proved a great acquisition.

About two hours after this, they arrived at the post near the banks of the Great Fish river, the boundary between the colony and Caffraria. Here they spent the night quietly in a tent they had pitched, though they afterwards heard that on the same day the Caffres had stolen fifty head of cattle from the neighbouring farm, and that several boors and soldiers were in pursuit of them. This part of the Caffre's country is studded with hills of a moderate height, and embellished with the mimosa; but the road on that side was blocked up with thorn bushes, as a signal that none are allowed to pass that way.

Somerset, the next station at which they arrived, had been so named in honour of the governor. Here Dr. Mackrill resides, and his house is a small neat building of unburnt brick stuccoed. Adjoining to it are several out-houses and huts for his slaves. The doctor, being a good botanist, has transplanted many of the flowering plants from the wilderness and woods into his garden, and by culture, very much improved their quality and beauty. The orange and other fruit-trees appear in great perfection. The Boschberg, rising immediately behind the garden, is a beautiful mountain of considerable height, intersected by many kloofs filled with wood, the intermediate eminences, like buttresses, supporting the mountain.

They observed two large baboons sitting separately on projecting rocks, probably placed there by the troop as sentinels to guard against surprise. Though somewhat intimidated by the shouts and gestures of the travellers, they seemed determined to keep their station, sometimes slowly retreating a few paces, and then returning to their seats, shewing their teeth and grinning defiance. Near this place they also discovered a serpent of a most lively green colour, beautifully marked upon the back, and spangled with sil-

ver-coloured spots; but rearing its head from a thatched roof and hissing at one of the party, he killed it with a stick. It is called Dachslange, (roof-serpent), from its liking to hide in old thatch, and is very venomous.

At a shop kept at Somerset, under the superintendence of Dr. Mackrill, every article may be had of which either the boors, Hottentots, or Caffres may stand in need, as iron and tin-ware, cloth, muslins, silk, pots and pans, and even tobacco and snuff. Government in this speculation had a benevolent design, wishing to promote confidence among the neighbouring Caffres, and other tribes, who being in want of many articles of convenience, might obtain them here by barter or otherwise. A farm belonging to Mr. P., at some distance from Somerset, the missionaries agreed was undoubtedly a most eligible situation for one of their settlements, though the buildings formed a very unsightly group of hovels, ruinous walls, &c.; dung, rags, remnants of half-devoured carcasses and other filth, surrounded the dwelling on all sides. Beyond this place they did not extend their reconnoitring journey, but resolved upon their return to Gnadenhal.

On their return they saw many ostriches, wild-pheasants, korhans or black-cocks, and antelopes, and one of the party shot a large puff-adder. This powerful and venomous serpent was crossing the road under the feet of the oxen. It was a novel sight to see him twining his clumsy body upon the sand, which he did with a scraping noise. The approach to this serpent is dangerous, as by throwing himself backward he is sure to wound any object near him. They soon after met with some hundreds of spring-boks, the most elegant antelopes of this country, standing in parties of twenty or thirty together. The sportsmen in the party were all alive to make sure of their aim, *all attempts, however, to approach them were in vain,*

for when the former came within gun-shot, the animals set off full speed, leaping sometimes over each other. They bounded along in a species of dance, springing with their four feet all at once from the ground, and then swiftly facing about, surveyed their pursuers.

Sleeping one night in a kind of farm-yard, Mr. Latrobe was awakened about one o'clock by a snuffing and bellowing noise, close to the tent. In a short time all were roused from sleep by the frightful roar of a bull, which having broken out of the beast-kraal, was parading up and down. He was seen pushing straight on between the missionaries' waggon and their tent, and had his feet got entangled in the ropes, the overthrow of their dormitory, if not worse mischief, would have been unavoidable. The whole farm was soon in an uproar, as all the oxen in the kraal having availed themselves of the opening made by the bull, they went off full trot to the wilderness, and were followed by those belonging to the party.

All the servants were up shouting, halloing and calling the slaves. The sheep and goats in an adjacent kraal, whether from fright, or envying the horned cattle their liberty, bleated aloud, the dogs barked, the children screamed, and even the geese and ducks joined in this horrible concert, which continued upwards of two hours.

On their return, near the White River, the Hottentots were much pleased with that situation, and declared that a settlement might be made there with every convenience, there being much sweet grass, which in their estimation is a point of the highest importance.

At a Mr. Neukirch's farm, after leaving Uitenhagen, Mr. Latrobe continued his diary, with ink made of the leaves of the Wageboom; these leaves, dry or fresh, are boiled, with a rusty nail, and a piece of sugar-candy, when the whole becomes a fine

black ink, used for writing and dyeing, or as a black reviver.

At a place called Avantur, an English dragoon gave Mr. Latrobe the skin of a bush cat, shot a few days before. This is a fierce, but beautiful animal, about three feet and a half long, with a rougher skin and shorter tail than a tiger. From the forehead, along the back, three jet-black streaks run towards the tail: the sides are marked with large single spots of the same colour; the tail has five black rings, and each ear two streaks. Broad black bands descend a little way in curved lines down the shoulders. It generally climbs trees, watching for some unfortunate antelope or other creature, that come there for shade, to spring upon them. Perceiving that Mr. Latrobe was pleased with this skin, Mr. Zondag's nephew, a dragoon, brought him another still more beautiful. Inquiring how he might reward his comrade for his generosity, as he had declined receiving any pecuniary remuneration, he answered, "as he was a great writer, and could get no paper, and was obliged to write on any odd scrap, some paper would be most acceptable." Mr. Latrobe accordingly gave him half a quire of foolscap, and a few pencils and pens, with which he seemed extremely delighted.

The proprietor of the farm, called the Groote Pardekraal, a Mr. Rutter, is described as remarkably strong and lively, and full of merry jokes, though seventy-five years old. The missionaries having noticed a baboon in his house, occasioned him to tell them the following story: "Having been brought as a soldier to the Cape, by an Amsterdam crimp, he was doing duty at the castle at the Cape town, when he kept one of these comical animals for his amusement. One evening, some boys and girls entered the place where it was kept, and played with it, unknown to him, till it broke its chain. In the night, climbing up into the belfry, it began to ring the bell.

Immediately the whole place was in a state of alarm. Some thought the castle was on fire ; others, that an enemy had entered the bay ; and the military actually began to turn out, when it was discovered that his baboon had caused the disturbance. On the following morning, a court-martial decided, that, whereas Rutter's baboon had unnecessarily put the castle into a state of alarm, its master should receive fifty lashes. " But," added he, " among these mountains, and under British government, I hope that my baboon and I may make as much noise as we please, without either of us endangering his back."

At the Haagekral farm, lying pleasantly on a green, and watered by a large brook, the travellers met the son of their merry host, who furnished them with some curious anecdotes of the wild horses in Attaguas Kloof. He once followed a young filly of that description, and had nearly come up with it, when he was charged with great fury by a wild stallion, who seized the horse by the mane with his teeth, and threw him down ; but satisfied with this victory, ran off with the filly. Both the wild horse, and even the Quagga, are a match for the tame horse, but do not easily commence an attack.

Near Bock river, the travelling party noticed a singular plant, called Vlachdorn, or Flat thorn. Its leaves lie horizontally, close to the ground, forming a kind of star ; and these are studded with small thorns or prickles. From the centre issues a naked stem, generally about a foot in length, with a small flower : its root, like those of many plants and bushes in this country, is disproportionately thick, and strikes deep into the ground, like a carrot. A decoction of it is considered a sovereign remedy for the strangury in cattle, and is used by the Hottentots for the same disorder in men.

CHAP. X.

Mode of tanning and dressing Skins among the Caffres—The Mausehund Wolves, &c.—Conflict between a Tiger and a Missionary—The Earth Hog—Variety of Birds—Thorny Plant, or Stop-a-Little—Ovens made of Ants' nests—Domestic Swallows.

THE mode used by the Caffres, in tanning and dressing tiger and other skins, is thus described: they spread them on the grass, covering them with sheeps' fat, and strewing a kind of chalk over them, then with a sand stone, by a circular motion of the hand, they rub them till the skin becomes as soft and pliable as wash leather. The hair remains undisturbed; and any laceration by shot, or other violence, they contrive to mend with great neatness, so as scarcely to be perceived. A trap having been set in a ravine to catch the mausehund, a muskiliat cat was found in it. It was extremely fierce, and the skin was variegated with stripes and spots; the latter black, with a species of brown. It is a kind of viverra, with a long snout and very sharp fangs. The smell of musk was very powerful on its skin, even after it had hung some weeks in the open air. The trap being set again, a mausehund was caught. It was a pretty creature, fierce and restless, uttering a sharp barking noise; but being young, was easily tamed, and brought to take its food out of any person's hand. After being detained five or six weeks, in a small kennel, it made its escape.

Much mischief having been done by wolves, at Groenekloof, where they even entered the yard and took away a sheep, besides worrying several beasts in the fields belonging to the Hottentots, a party was formed of about thirty of the latter, and two of the

missionaries, to find out their haunts and dislodge them. One wolf was seen, and lamed by a shot; he escaped, and entered some bushes; not able to discover him, the party were returning, when a Hottentot perceiving they had started a tiger, called aloud to one of the missionaries, to return. He, therefore, with the Hottentot, Philip, began to retreat backwards; but pointing his gun ready to fire, in case the animal should make his appearance. Suddenly a tiger sprang forward, but from a quarter not expected; and, by a flying leap over the bushes, fastened upon Philip, seizing his nose and face with his claws and teeth. Poor Philip was thrown down, and in the conflict, lay now upon, and then under the tiger. The missionary might easily have effected his escape, but his own safety never entered his thoughts. Duty and pity made him instantly advance to the assistance of the sufferer. He pointed his gun, but the motion of the Hottentot and the tiger, in rolling about and struggling, were so swift, that he durst not venture to pull the trigger, for fear of injuring Philip. In the interim, the tiger perceiving him taking aim, quitted his hold, worked himself from under the Hottentot, and flew, like lightning, upon the missionary. As the gun was of no use in such close quarters, he let it fall, and presented his left arm to shield his face. The tiger instantly seized it with his jaw, the man with the same arm catching one of his paws, to prevent the out-stretched claws from reaching his body. With the other paw, however, he continued striking towards his breast, and tearing his clothes. Both fell in the scuffle; and, providentially, in such a position, that the missionary's knee, without design, came to rest upon the pit of the tiger's stomach. At the same time he grasped the animal's throat with his right hand, keeping him down with all his might. The seizure of his throat made the tiger let go; but not before he gave his opponent another bite near the

elbow. His face lay right over that of the tiger's, whose open mouth, from the pressure of his wind-pipe, sent forth the most hideous, hoarse, and convulsive groans; while his starting eyes seemed to flash with fire. In this situation, as the missionary's strength was fast failing, the Hottentots, in answer to his calls, ventured to enter the thicket; and, one of them snatching the loaded gun, which lay on the ground, shot the tiger under the missionary's hand, right through the heart. His death was instantaneous; but had any life been left, his dying struggles, as is frequently the case, might have proved fatal to some of his assailants.

The earth-hog, in this part of Africa, is justly considered as a noxious animal; the missionaries observed one hut which they seemed disposed to undermine. These creatures are about as large as a common pig, with a long snout; long sharp claws, very little hair, and a rough skin. They feed upon ants, and probably other insects. The ants here carry their nests under ground several feet, the earth-hogs therefore follow them, and putting in their long tongue, draw them out, and devour them. The holes made by these creatures, are often hid among the bushes; and hunters, or others, may be overthrown either by falling into them, or by the earth being undermined near the entrance, and giving way under their feet.

A bird, improperly called a lark, is also observed in these parts. It is about the size of this bird in England, flies up with a rustling noise, to a moderate height, and lying on its wings, descends, uttering a mournful whoop or whistle. In the wilderness the sugar-bush grows plentifully; this bears a magnificent flower, and the wood and roots are good fuel. Many tortoises, also, crawl about the waste, and often, from one bush to another, across the road, they are generally from six to eight inches long; the

young ones the jackals watch for, crack their tender shell as easily as a nut, and devour them : the crows attack the larger ones as they are passing a place unprotected by bushes, turn them over, and by inserting their long bills into the open parts of the shell, seize their feet and heads, and contrive, by degrees, to pick out the whole animal.

The missionaries, likewise, describe a curious thorny plant, which, from its entangling and adhesive properties, is called *Wagt en beetgen*, or, "Stop a little," for as it catches the stockings, or some other part of the dress, patience is required by people, before they can disengage themselves from it.

In some parts of these wildernesses, the ants raise solid nests of clay, in shape like a baker's oven, and the Caffres first settled at Gnadenthal, before they could build ovens according to the custom of the United Brethren, after destroying the inhabitants by fire or smoke, scooped them out hollow, and used them for baking, putting in three loaves at a time : this clay is so well prepared by the ants, that it is used for the floors of rooms, both by Hottentots and farmers. While at Gaensekraal, Mr. Latrobe observed, he was greeted every morning by the pleasant chirping of two swallows, cock and hen, that had a nest in the corner of his bed-room, under the ceiling. There is hardly a room, kitchen, or outhouse, in the country, without these inmates, and to kill them would be thought next to murder. Their nests are formed of clay, in the shape of a bottle, the bottom towards the wall, and the neck for the entrance. Hither they convey the softest down. During their emigration these nests remain, and the same birds always return to them ; but if it happens, that by white-washing the room, the outside of the nest has been whitened, they carefully cover about half the length of the neck with fresh clay, before they make a new bed. As the upper half of the

room-door generally stands open in the day-time, the swallows go in and out as they please; but if the door is shut, they give notice of their going abroad, by a gentle piping and flying about the room, and none think it too much trouble to let them out. These birds are formed like the European swallows, but under their wings they are of a red-brown colour. They leave the country during the winter; but are preyed upon by a bird called the wild swallow; and the latter are, on that account, shot, or otherwise destroyed by the Hottentots. Before the missionaries left, Groenekloof, they laid the foundation of a new church, the building of which was in evident forwardness. The purchase of ground was also agreed upon, between Mr. Latrobe and the governor, at the Cape, for the purpose of a new settlement upon the White river. Mr. Latrobe embarked on board the Zebra sloop, on his return to England, on the 17th of October, 1817.

CHAP. XI.

Shipwreck of Robert Adams on the Western Coast of Africa—Tombuctoo River—Diet and Dress of the Natives—Physicians—Slaves—Fruits—Population—Gunpowder—Commerce in general—Vled Duleim—Wadinoon—Deaths and Desertion—Adams sets out for Mogador—obtains a Passage to Cadiz—arrives in London—Arabs and Moors—Report of Park—Mr. Jackson's Account of Tombuctoo.

WE shall now leave the continent of South Africa, to give an account of some of the adventures of less fortunate travellers on the Western coast of that inhospitable quarter of the globe; and on account of the priority of time, which the narrative demands, begin with Robert Adams, a sailor, who was wrecked

there in 1810, and detained three years in slavery, by the Arabs of the Great Desert.

The mode in which the public became acquainted with this singular traveller, had something about it bordering so much upon mere accident, that the chances against these adventures being ever known to the public by any other means, seemed much against them. It was not till the beginning of the winter of 1815, that Mr. Cock, a gentleman connected with the African Company, accidentally heard that a poor American sailor was begging in the streets of London, who represented himself as recently returned from many strange adventures in Africa. He made it his business to find him out, and proceeded to inquire into his story, which he told with much frankness, in answer to the questions that were put. He very properly took notes of the statement made by Adams, particularly as to the places he said he had visited, the distances mentioned by him, and the direction in which he described his journeys to have been made. He then gave him a trifling sum to relieve his immediate wants, and desired him to return again in a few days. Adams did not come back for nearly a week, but he then repeated the same answers to the questions again put, nearly in the same words as before. A favourable opinion of his veracity being thus formed, Mr. Cock resolved to take down in writing the whole narrative, Adams himself being wholly illiterate. For this purpose, it was necessary he should be supported, and he was promised a remuneration for his trouble in attending daily to have his adventures recorded. There was considerable difficulty, however, in getting him to remain; he was impatient to return to his own country, and wished to embark in an American transport, which was then on the point of sailing. Adams, who, it seems, was not above twenty-five years of age when he left home, sailed in June, 1810, from New York, in the ship *Charles*.

John Horton, master, of the burthen of 280 tons, bound to Gibraltar, the crew consisting of nine persons, to whom a tenth was added at Gibraltar. From thence she proceeded down the coast of Africa, on a trading voyage.

On the 11th of October, about three in the morning, the noise of breakers was heard, and in an hour afterwards, the vessel struck on the rocks; but the crew succeeded in getting safely on shore. The place, by the captain's account, was about 400 miles to the north of Senegal, and its name, as they found on landing, was *El Gazie*. It was a low and sandy beach, devoid of trees or verdure, and the country without the appearance of hill or mountain, or any thing but sand, as far as the eye could reach. Soon after break of day, they were surrounded, and made prisoners, by thirty or forty Moors, and among them, a Frenchman, who had been wrecked and made a slave, about a year ago. These Moors had lank hair, and their whole dress consisted of little more than a rug, or a skin, round their waist. The skins of Adams and his companions, as they were immediately stripped naked, and exposed to a scorching sun, became dreadfully blistered, and for the sake of coolness, they were obliged to dig holes in the sand to sleep in. The captain soon became ill, and was reduced to such a miserable condition, that, in his impatience, he often declared, that he wished to die; and in this state of irritation, it seems, his dissolution followed, in consequence of a stroke from a sword, given him by one of the Moors. The chief food of these Moors, was fish, and for three or four, out of fourteen days which they remained at *El Gazie*, they were nearly in a starving state, owing to their being unable to catch fish; but having, from the wreck of the *Charles*, procured fishing-tackle, and caught enough to load a camel, they buried in the sand all the articles they had procured from the

wreck, and prepared to depart for the interior. After this, they divided the crew among them; Adams, the mate, and a seaman of the name of Newsham, were placed with about twenty Moors, men, women, and children, having four camels, three of which were laden with water, the fourth with fish and baggage: this party carried their prisoners for about thirty days to the southward, when they arrived at a place, the name of which Adams did not remember. Here they remained about a month, and were joined by a Moor, with another of the crew, named Stevens, a Portuguese. The mate, and the other seaman, were carried away to the northward, and Adams was left with Stevens, in custody of the eighteen Moors, who proceeded on a slaving expedition, to Soudenny. The average rate of travelling was about fifteen miles a day; the route easterly, inclining to the southward across a desert sandy plain. At the end of thirty days, during which time they had not seen a human being, they came to a place where there were several tents, and a pool of water, surrounded by a few shrubs—this was the first water they had met with since quitting the coast. On their route from this spot to Soudenny, they were joined by twelve Moors.

Soudenny is described as a small negro village, in the immediate neighbourhood of Mungo Parke's first route; the huts here are formed of clay, with roofs of sticks laid flat, and also covered with clay; and here the party skulked among the bushes which surround the place, for about a week, lying in wait for the inhabitants. The governor was an ugly Negro, of the name of Mahamoud; the party that Adams was with, at length seized upon a woman and her child, and two boys, whom they found near the town. This, however, drew upon them the vengeance of the negroes, who attacked them in a body of forty or fifty armed men, and taking them prisoners, Maha-

id, the Governor, ordered them to be imprisoned in a mud-wall enclosure, about six feet high, nce, Adams says, they could easily have escaped, not the Moors been a cowardly set. Here, how-; it appears they were guarded by 100 negroes, in four days were sent under an escort of sixty to Tombuctoo. The dress of the negroes was a nankeen frock; that of the chief distinguished by e gold work on the shoulder, like an epaulette: were armed with bows and arrows, with which practised shooting at small marks of clay, and rally hit them at fifteen or twenty yards' distance. n their way to Tombuctoo, fourteen of the Moors : put to death for endeavouring to escape, the on their arrival, were closely confined as pri- rs. Adams and Stevens were deemed objects of uch curiosity, from their colour, that they were red to remain in the palace for the especial enter- nent of the king and queen, Woolo and Fatima, are described as ancient personages with grey ; the latter excessively fat, and dressed in blue een. The people treated them with respect ever they walked about, bowing or touching heads, and when the king receives his subjects s house, their mode of salutation, was to kiss his . The palace was of mud, clay, and grass, and ery respect mean; there were about twenty mus- n it which never were used: here were eight or ten l rooms on the ground-floor, surrounded by a clay enclosing a space of about half an acre. The is described as covering as much ground as on, but the houses are scattered irregularly. river which Adams terms *La Mar Zarah*, flows e southward about two hundred yards from the , and is about three quarters of a mile broad. largest vessels upon it, are canoes, about ten long, carrying three men; the soil is cultivated asily, and only with a small hoe, no animals.

being used for this purpose. The principal food is *Guinea corn*, ground between two stones, boiled into a thick mess, like burgoo, and eaten with goats' milk. Their majesties feed upon it like the rest of the people, and without using any spoon or other utensil, only they are allowed a little butter. They eat the flesh of the elephant, and deem it a great delicacy. They have cows, goats, asses, and dromedaries, but no horses: they possess, however, an animal called *herie*, a small and very fleet kind of camel. The water of the river here is a little brackish, but is used by the natives, and the canoes upon it, are only hollowed out of the trunks of fig-trees, but not capable of carrying more than three persons. They are mostly used in fishing; the fish caught is chiefly a kind of red mullet, and a large one of a reddish colour, not unlike a salmon. The population of Tombuctoo consists wholly of negroes. The only Moors that Adams saw there were those who came to ransom him and his fellow-prisoners; though armed caravans of these people are said to arrive there, for the purposes of trade, bringing tobacco, tar, gunpowder, blue nankeens, blankets, earthen jars, and some silks; and taking back in exchange ivory, gold-dust, gum, cowries, ostrich feathers, and goat's skins. The dress of the queen was a short shirt of blue nankeen, edged with gold lace, reaching only a few inches below the knee, and brought close to the body by a belt of the same material: that of the other females was of the same short fashion, and having no under garments, they might, when setting, for the purposes of decency, just as well have no covering. The queen wore a blue nankeen turban, ear-rings of gold, and sometimes of beads. The king also wore a blue nankeen frock, with gold epaulettes, and a turban; but was generally bare-headed. The natives are a stout healthy race; they grease themselves all over to make the skin smooth and shining: both sexes make

incisions in their faces, and stain them of a blue colour. Some of the women had brass rings on their fingers, marked with letters: but Adams could not tell whether Roman or Arabic. He did not observe that they had any place of worship; they never met together for the purpose of prayer; indeed they had no place of worship that he could discover, nor any priests. Their physicians are old women, and their remedies herbs and roots. The dead are buried without any ceremony, excepting that the relatives assemble and sit round the body. According to the account given by Mungo Park of the negro belief in this quarter of the globe, it is not very sublime. The people here are fond of music and dancing; their instruments are a pipe of reeds, a sort of tambourine, covered with goats' skins, which when struck, make a jarring sound; and a guitar made of cocoa-nut shells, and thongs of goat skin. They have also a kind of life.

Slaves at Tombuctoo are very common and very cheap. Once a month parties of armed men go out to scour the country for them: the greatest number that Adams ever saw brought in at one time, was twenty, and these he understood were taken from Bambarra; they were chiefly women and children. Criminals are sometimes condemned to slavery by the king: but during six months' residence at Tombuctoo, Adams did not see, or hear of any individual being put to death.

The natives, though exceedingly dirty, are fond of ornaments. The men have several concubines besides their wives; and though the latter are treated with a marked preference, the constant quarrels that prevail, and the jealous dispositions of the husbands, are great drawbacks upon their domestic comforts. These people use their fists in their violent quarrels, *but mostly their teeth*: the dancing, however, of

which they are passionately fond, generally last night.

The fruits of Tombuctoo, are cocoa-nuts, figs, pine-apples, and a sweet species about the size of an apple, the leaves resembling those of a peach which being scarce is preserved for the use of the family. Here are also carrots, turnips, sweet-potatoes, negro-beans, rice, and Guinea corn; these are the chief objects of cultivation. Of the latter, bruised, they make a kind of burgoo, as before served, mixed with goats' milk. Among the animals observed here, are elephants, antelopes, wolves, baboons, foxes, porcupines, and a species of rat, which inhabits the river. Adams saw either lions, tigers, or wild cats; yet the roar of such beasts of prey was heard every night from the neighbouring mountains. Nor did he know anything of alligators or the hippopotamus.

Adams could form no idea of the population of Tombuctoo, but he thinks he once saw as many as two thousand persons assembled at one place. There was a party of five hundred men going out to war upon or steal slaves from Bambarra. They were followed by a number of camels, dromedaries, and herds, laden with provisions. Some of these people that returned, back in parties of forty or fifty, and many of them did not return at all while Adams was at Tombuctoo but he never heard that any of them were killed. These parties, who generally left Tombuctoo once a month, were always on foot, except the officers. The slaves they brought in were a different race from themselves, their dress being for the most part of coarse white linen or cotton. He once saw a woman among them who had her teeth filed round, her lips posed, by way of ornament, and as they were long they resembled crow quills. The slaves

generally detained a day or two at the king's house, and then sent away to other parts for sale. The returns for them consisted of blue nankeens, blankets, barley, tobacco, and sometimes gunpowder, an article of more value than gold, as double the weight of the latter was often given in barter for it. Their manner of preserving it was in skins. It was, however, never used at Tombuctoo but as an article of trade.

Though the king is despotic, and can compel his subjects to take up arms when he requires it, yet it did not appear that they were slaves, whom he might sell, and employ as such generally; the only actual slaves being such as were brought from other countries, or condemned criminals. Of the latter class only twelve persons were condemned to slavery during the six months of Adams's residence. The offences they had been guilty of were poisoning, theft, and refusing to join a party sent out to procure slaves from distant parts. Slighter misdemeanors here are punished by beating with a stick, and not severely, as this seldom exceeds two dozen blows, and the stick in thickness does not surpass that of a small walking cane.

Those who have formed magnificent ideas of the condition of Tombuctoo may hear with surprise, that Adams saw no shops there. The goods imported for sale remain in the king's palace till they are disposed of. Adams strenuously asserted that no white man had ever been at Tombuctoo before him. The only places he ever heard named there were Nuitrougo, Tuarick, Mandingo, and Bondou. He never saw the Joliba or the Niger river.

When Adams and his party had been about six months at Tombuctoo, unhappily for some of them some Moors came there to ransom their countrymen as well as Adams and Stevens. They set out, after performing this business for a certain quantity of w-

bacco, in a north-easterly direction, along the river which he calls *La Mar Zarah*, and after travelling for thirteen days arrived at a place named *Tudenug*. The party now consisted of the ten Moorish traders, fourteen or fifteen Moorish prisoners, and Adams, the Portuguese, Stevens, and a slave. They had five camels with them. They skirted the river for about ten days, at the rate of from fifteen to eighteen miles a day. The Moors, who had been in confinement at Tombuctoo, becoming every day weaker upon this journey, three of them, in four following days, lay down, unable to proceed. They were then placed upon the camels; but continual exposure to the excessive heat of the sun, and the uneasy motion of the camels, soon rendered them unable to support themselves; they next endeavoured to pursue their journey on foot, but could not. The next morning, at day-break, they were found dead in the sand, in the same place where they had lain down at night, and were left behind without being buried. The following day, another of them lay down, and like his unfortunate companions was left to perish. On the third day one of the Moors determined to remain behind, in hopes that he who had dropped the day before, might still come up and be able to follow the party; some provisions were left with him. What proved to be the fact, was at this time expected, viz., that they were within a day's march of their town; but as neither of these men ever after made their appearance, Adams had no doubt that both of them perished.

This painful exertion at length brought them to *Vled Duleim*, called by Mr. Dupuis, *Woled D'leim*, a village of Geats, inhabited by a pastoral tribe of Moors. Here the slaves were employed in tending goats and sheep, suffering severely by exposure to the sun almost in a state of nakedness, and hopeless of ever gaining their liberty. In respect to food, they were not so wretched. They had barley-flour,

and abundance of milk : and now and then contrived to kill a kid unperceived, which they dressed in a pit, and covered the ashes over with grass and sand. Worn out with suffering and impatient of his situation here, Adams, after remaining eleven months, made a desperate effort, and escaped on a camel ; but was overtaken after two days' journey, at a place called *Hilla Gibla*, as he was relating his adventures to the Moorish governor. His master had pursued him, and the governor, after hearing both sides, determined in favour of Adams ; that is to say, he decreed that he should be ransomed for a bushel of dates, and a camel, which his Excellency paid down immediately to the reluctant vendor, and took possession of Adams as his own purchase. Here he was employed in keeping camels and goats, and met with an adventure which had nearly been attended with very serious results.

Mahomet, his master, had two wives, who dwelt in separate tents, one of them an old woman, the other young ; the goats Adams was put to take care of belonged to the elder wife. Some days after he had been so employed, the younger wife, whose name was *Isha*, proposed to him that he should also take charge of her goats, for which she would pay him ; and as there was no more trouble in tending two flocks than one, he readily consented. Having had charge of the two flocks for several days without receiving the promised reward, he remonstrated ; and after some negotiation on the subject of his claim, the matter was compromised, by the young woman's desiring him when he returned from tending the goats at night, to go to rest in her tent. It was the custom of Mahomet to sleep two nights with the elder woman, and one with the other, and this was one of the nights devoted to the former ; Adams accordingly kept the appointment, and about nine o'clock *Isha* came and gave him his supper, and he remained in the tent all

night. This was an arrangement which after continued on those nights which she did not pass with her husband. Things proceeded in this state for six months, but one night his master's son came into the tent, and seeing Adams with his mother-in-law, informed his father of the circumstance, when a disturbance took place. The husband charged his wife with her misconduct, she protested that she had laid down in her tent without her knowledge or consent; and as she cried bitterly, the old man appeared to be convinced that she was not to blame. The old lady, however, declared her belief that the young one was guilty; and expressed her conviction that she should be able to detect her at some time. For some time Adams abstained from any breach of his fidelity; but one night the old man lifted up the corner of the tent and discovered Adams with *Isha*; and having reported it to her husband, he came with a thick stick, threatening to put him to death. Adams being alarmed made his escape. The affair having made a great deal of noise, a acquaintance proposed to Adams to conceal himself in the tent, and to endeavour to buy him of the governor. Some laughed at the adventure; others, and the far the greater part, treated the matter as an act of the most heinous nature; especially as Adams was a Christian. As his acquaintance promised him the event of his becoming his purchaser, to take him to *Wadinoon*, Adams adopted his advice, and concealed himself in his tent. For several days the governor rejected every overture; but at last he agreed to part with Adams for fifty dollars worth of goods, consisting of blankets and dates; and this became the property of *Boerick*, a trader, whose residence was at *Hilla Gibbila*. The young man, his former master, afterwards left him to go to his mother. A friend of his new master, having persuaded him that by sending Adams to *Wadinoon*

Christians there would be likely to ransom him, he set out towards that place, but carried him in another direction, and used him as his own slave.

It should have been observed, that previous to the arrival of the Moors at Woled D'leim, they saw a number of antelopes, rabbits, foxes, and wolves, and a bird somewhat larger than a fowl, which the Moors called *djez*, Arab for the common fowl; but at the end of fourteen days they arrived at *Tudenng*, a large village, inhabited by Moors and negroes, in which place were four wells of good water. Here were also beds of salt, about five or six feet deep, and about thirty yards in circumference; the salt, which was taken up in hard lumps, mixed with earth, was purchased by Moors and negroes from all quarters. Here the Moors staid fourteen days to refresh themselves. They sold one of their camels for a small ass and two sacks of dates, and having laden the four remaining camels with the dates, flour, and water, they proceeded to cross the desert, which took them twenty-nine days, without meeting a human being; the only persons they had previously met after leaving the river, were negroes, carrying salt to Tombuctoo, ten or twelve every day, with dromedaries, camels, and asses. The ass which this party obtained in exchange for their camel, died of fatigue, was cut up, and when dried in the sun, afforded them a seasonable supply of food, without which they must have been in danger of starving. Their water ran short, when they had ten days to travel; they mixed, therefore, what remained, with camel's urine, of which each camel had about a quart for the whole ten days, and each man about half a pint a day. However, as before remarked, they arrived at Woled D'leim, with the loss of no more than five of the party. Previous to Adams's being received into the favour of the youngest of his master's wives at this place, ill-usage had determined him to neglect his duty; the foxes

killed several of the young kids, and he suffered a severe beating for it; he still, however, persisted in remaining idle in the tent, and it was debated whether they should put him to death or sell him to another tribe. In the mean time, his master's wife having asked him to take a camel with a couple of skins to fetch water from a distant well, he signified his consent. As it was at this time that he resolved to attempt his escape, he passed the well and proceeded towards Wadinoon; having travelled about twenty miles, his camel lay down with fatigue, and Adams lay by its side. Next morning he proceeded, and soon perceived a smoke. Ascending a small hill, he observed forty or fifty tents, and on looking round, two camels coming after him with a rider on each. Being greatly alarmed, he pushed on, and coming near the place, he observed about an hundred Moors, with their faces turned towards the east, in the act of prayer. He asked the name of the place, and they told him Hilla Gibla. The two camels now arrived, and he observed that one carried his master, and the other the owner of the camel on which he rode. His master claimed him as his slave; but Adams said he would rather die than return; that he had broken his promise in not sending him to Mogadore; but the governor of Hilla Gibla, as before related, purchased him of his former owner.

After Adams had been purchased of Mahomet, in consequence of the improper connexion subsisting between him and one of his master's wives, the particulars of which have been related, Boerick, his new master, was informed that the British consul at Mogadore was in the habit of sending to Wadinoon to purchase Christian prisoners; but remaining at *Aita Moessah Ali* on the way upwards of a month, Adams, after making inquiry as to the direction and distance of Wadinoon, again determined to desert. He was, however, overtaken the second day and brought back;

soon after, however, his master and his party set out for Wadinoon, which they reached in five days.

Wadinoon is a small town consisting of about forty houses, and some tents: the soil better cultivated than any which Adams had yet seen, and the produce chiefly corn and tobacco; there were also dates and fig-trees, and a few grapes, apples, pears, and pomegranates. Here, to his great satisfaction, he met with his old companions, Dolby the mate, with Davison and Williamson, two of the crew of the *Charles*. They had been here about twelve months, and were the slaves of the governor's sons. Adams was soon disposed of to Bel Cossim Abdallah, for twenty dollars, payable in blankets, gun-powder and dates.

At Wadinoon, there was a Frenchman who informed Adams that he had been wrecked about twelve years before on the coast, and that all the crew, himself excepted, had been redeemed. He also told him that, four years before, the *Montezuma*, from Liverpool, commanded by Captain Harrison, had been wrecked, and the captain and nearly the whole of the crew murdered. This Frenchman had turned Mahometan, had a wife and child, and three slaves, and gained a good living by making gun-powder. Adams saw him pounding brimstone in a wooden mortar, and grinding charcoal as they do grain between two stones.

At this place Adams was employed in agricultural labours, which were very severe. The Moörish Sabbath being also market-day, was, however, a day of rest to the slaves, and the only one in which they could meet and converse together. Adams here had the melancholy consolation of finding that the lot of his companions had even been more severe than his own. One Sabbath-day, Hameda Belcassam, his master's son, ordered Adams to take the horse and go to plough; but he refused, on the plea of its being the slaves' holiday; upon which Hameda struck him

on the forehead with a cutlass ; and, in return, Adams knocked him down with his fist : he was instantly surrounded by the Moors, who beat him till the blood gushed out of his mouth : two of his double-teeth were knocked out ; and he was almost killed, which would probably have been actually the case, but for the interference of Boadrick, the shiek's son, who said they had no right to compel him to work on a market-day. The father and mother of Hameda then told Adams, that unless he would kiss their son's feet and hands, he should be put in irons ; but he replied that happen what would, he could never consent to it, as it was " contrary to his religion." His feet and hands were therefore fastened together with iron chains, and he remained for some weeks in this state, while the most dreadful threats were used to induce him to submit, but to no purpose. His sufferings having reduced him almost to a skeleton, his master determined on selling him, to prevent by death a total loss ; and he was therefore released.

Dolbie, the mate, soon after this grew sick and unable to work ; upon which Brahim, the son of the sheik, beat him with a stick, and in consequence of his remonstrances upon this cruelty, stabbed him in the side with a dagger, and he died in a few minutes ; he was then thrown into a hole without ceremony. About this time the fortitude of Williamson and Davison gave way to the brutal treatment they received, and they unhappily consented to renounce their religion, and thus obtain their liberty by submitting to the rites of the Mahometan faith ; after which they were presented with a horse, a musket and a blanket, and permitted to take Moorish wives. Adams being now the only Christian at Wadinoon, had become, in a more especial manner, the object of derision and persecution, and his life was beginning to be intolerable, when, only three days after Williamson and Davison had renounced their religion, a letter came

om Mr. Joseph Dupuis, British consul at Mogadore, addressed, under cover to the governor, to the Christian prisoners at Wadinoon, exhorting them to withstand all attempts to make them give up their religion, and assuring them that within a month he should be able to procure their liberty. Davison heard the letter apparently without emotion; but Williamson became so agitated, that he let the letter drop out of his hands, and burst into a flood of tears. In about a month, the man who brought the letter, a servant of the British consul, under the disguise of a trader, told Adams that he had succeeded in procuring his release, and the next day they set out together to Mogadore. At Wadinoon Adams thinks he had been twelve months.

Adams and his conductor now travelled together fourteen or fifteen days, over a country more thickly inhabited, and better cultivated than any the former had yet seen. At Agadeer, they entered the Emperor of Morocco's dominions, where the governor told him he had been among savages, not subjects of the emperor; but that he was now perfectly safe, and would experience nothing but good treatment. On the fifth day after this, they discovered from a hill the town of Mogadore beneath them, and square-rigged vessels lying in the harbour; "the sight of which," says Adams, I can no otherwise describe than by saying, "I felt as if a new life had been given to me." Never, says he, shall I forget the kindness of Mr. Dupuis, for he was the first person the governor sent them to, when they arrived at Mogadore. "This good gentleman," said he, "seemed to study how to make me comfortable and happy." He remained with Mr. Dupuis eight months, who frequently interrogated him as to the places where he had been, and advised him to go to England to give an account of *travels*; but England and America being at war declined going on board an English vessel.

Dupuis therefore sent him under the protection of two Moorish soldiers to Tangier; and Mr. Simpson, the American consul, procured him a passage to Cadiz, where he arrived on the 17th of May 1814, three years and seven months after he had been wrecked in the *Charles*; during which, notwithstanding the severity of his treatment, confinement in irons, and all the hardships he underwent, he had never been ill a day except from the effect of the maltreatment he received at Wadinoon. He remained at Cadiz about fourteen months in the service of Mr. Hall, an English merchant; but the moment peace was restored between England and America, he went in a cartel to Gibraltar, and thence in a Welsh brig to Bristol: in the passage from thence to Liverpool, they were obliged to put into Holyhead, where Adams fell sick and was put on shore. From this place he begged his way to London, where he arrived completely destitute, and had slept two or three nights in the open street, when a gentleman accidentally met him, and recognizing him as the late servant of Mr. Hall, sent him to an agent of the African committee. The narrative that was written from the mouth of Adams was soon after read at the Secretary of State's office for the colonies, before Lord Bathurst, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Joseph Banks, and several other gentlemen, in presence of Adams, who was questioned respecting the names of the parts of Africa he had visited. The impression made by this examination as to the general truth of the narrative was so favourable upon the whole, that the Lords of the Treasury ordered a gratuity to the poor man to enable him to proceed to America. A few days after this, Adams underwent a second examination at the house of Sir Joseph Banks, by some of the most distinguished literary characters of the age; but the narrative was not read, and as the poor illiterate sailor had never heard of the name of Park or the

Joliba, and gave very unlearned answers about cocoanuts, and elephants' tusks, his want of information on some points, and his want of accuracy in others, seemed to imply in the minds of some present a want of veracity. But though the impression was less favourable than that made on the gentlemen who first examined him, the editor was so strongly convinced of the truth of the narrative, that he resolved to send it to the press unsupported as it was by any external evidence, for the double purpose of gratifying public curiosity, and of being useful to Adams, who had now left England for his native country. At this moment an opportunity unexpectedly presented itself of putting the veracity of Adams to a decisive test. Mr. Dupuis, the British vice-consul at Mogadore, the very person to whose interference Adams owed his release, arrived in England. This gentleman read over the narrative, made notes upon it, and corroborated the leading circumstances related by Adams, almost to the very letter of the text. Mr. Dupuis is a gentleman of the strictest veracity, sensible, well-informed, and a perfect Arabic scholar. It further appears, from the appendix to this narrative, that Western Barbary is inhabited principally by three distinct races, called Berebbers, Arabs, and Moors. The first are the descendants of the original inhabitants before the Arabian conquest; their language varies in its dialects, but both of them differ widely from the Arabic. The *Shilluh*, or Berebbers of the south, differ from the other tribes in appearance, and are distinguished by more warmth of attachment, as well as vehemence of passion. Nor are they ever known to violate the security of any person or property once under their protection.

Excepting that the Berebbers of the north are more robust than the Shilluh, a strong family likeness runs through all their tribes. Their customs, dispositions, and national character, are nearly the same.

they are all equally tenacious of the independence which their local positions enable them to assume, and are animated with the same inveterate and hereditary hatred against their common enemy, the Arab. They invariably reside in houses or hovels, built of stone and timber, generally situated on some commanding eminence. Their usual mode of warfare is to surprise their enemy, rather than overcome him by an open attack. They are reckoned the best marksmen, and possess the best fire-arms, which renders them a very destructive enemy wherever the country affords shelter and concealment; but although they are an over-match for the Arabs when attacked in their own rugged territory, they are obliged, on the other hand, to relinquish the plains to the Arab cavalry, against which these Berebbers are unable to stand on open ground.

The *Arabs*, the descendants of the Mahometan conquerors, are cultivators of the soil, according to their proverb, that "*The earth is the Arabs' portion.*" Their character is still more open and violent than that of the Berebber. When they have the power, they prey upon all strangers to their tribe and religion, carrying devastation and destruction wherever they go, sparing neither age nor sex, and even ripping open the dead bodies of their victims to discover whether they have not swallowed their riches for the purpose of concealment.

The Moors are a mixed race, descended from the Berebbers, the Arabs and the Negroes, and the Arabs expelled from Spain. As the two former tribes are cultivators of the soil, and feeders of cattle, the latter are chiefly engaged in the pursuits of trade.

It is remarkable that among the negro slaves at Wadinoon, Robert Adams, who was totally ignorant of Park's mission into the interior of Africa, saw a woman who told him a very singular story. She said that she came from a place called Kurno, a long

way across the desert, and that she had seen, in her own country, white men, as white as *bather*, meaning the wall, and in a large boat with two high sticks in it, with cloth upon them; and that they rowed this boat in a manner different from the custom of the negroes, who use paddles. In stating this she made the motion of rowing with oars, so as to leave no doubt she had seen a vessel in the European fashion manned by white people.

Now this singular circumstance throws some distrust upon Amadi Fatouma's story. It is not unreasonable to suppose that what is called Kanno here, may be the kingdom of Ghano, or Cano, which D'Anville places on the Niger, between the tenth and fifteenth degrees of eastern longitude. Assuming this to be the fact, the curious relation of this female negro slave at Wadinoon, affords room to conjecture that Park had made further progress down the Niger than Amadi Fatouma's story seems to carry him. In fact, the time which intervened between the period of Park's departure from Sansanding and his asserted death, would abundantly admit of his having reached a much more distant country even than *Ghana*; for, according to Isaaco, and Amadi Fatouma, he had been four months on his voyage down the Niger, when he lost his life, having never been on shore during all that time. This long period is evidently quite unnecessary for the completion of an uninterrupted voyage from Sansanding to the frontiers of Haoussa; for Park was informed by Amadi Fatouma himself, "that the voyage even to Kashna, did not require a longer period than two months for its performance; though, according to Major Rennel's positions of these places, this is probably more than twice the distance.

What Robert Adams has said of Tombuctoo, or Timbuctoo, is in a great measure confirmed by Mr. Jackson, *an intelligent and enlightened traveller*. This great em-

consist of several hundred loaded camels, accompanied by the Arabs, who let them for the transport of their merchandise to Fez or Fezzan, Morocco at a very low rate. During their route, they are often exposed to the Arabs of Saharra, but will generally confine their depredations to the confines of the desert. In this tiresome journey, the akkaba do not proceed in a direct line across the vast desert to the place of their destination, but turn occasionally eastward or westward, according as they may meet with certain inhabited and cultivated spots scattered like islands in the ocean, and called Oases, which serve as watering-places to the men, as well as to feed and refresh the hardy and patient camels. At each of these Oases, the akkabaah sojourns about seven days and proceeds in quest of another spot of the same description. The hot winds, called Sirocco, are often so violent as considerably, if not entirely to exhale the water carried in skins by the camels for the use of the passengers and drivers; on such occasions 500 dollars have been given for a drink of water, and very frequently ten or twenty.

for it, expressing a "sea without water." When the akkabaah reaches Akka, the first station on this side of the desert in Lower Suse, the camels and guides are discharged, and others hired to proceed on the journey. Including their sojournments at Elwabs, or Oases, the akkabaahs perform the traverse of the desert in about 130 days. After resting 15 days, they proceed to the Oasis and well of Taudeny, which they reach in seven days; here again they remain fifteen; their next route is to Arawan, which they reach in seven days; here they remain fifteen as before, and then proceed and reach Tombuctoo the sixth day, making a journey of fifty-four days' actual travelling, and seventy-five of rest, being altogether from Fez to Tombuctoo, one hundred and twenty-nine days, or four lunar months and nine days journey. Another akkabaah sets out from Wadinoon and Sok Assa, and traversing the desert between the Black mountains of Cape Bojador and Gualata, touches at Tagassa, or West Tagassa, and staying there to collect salt, proceeds to Tombuctoo. This journey takes up five or six months, as the akkabaah goes as far as Jibbel el Bied, or the White mountains, near Cape Blanco, through the desert of Mograffra and Woolled Abbusebah, to a place called Agadeen, where it remains twenty days. The akkabaahs which cross the desert, Mr. Jackson compares to our fleets of merchant vessels under convoy, the (stata) convoy of the desert being two or more Arabs, belonging to the tribe through whose territory the caravan passes, or they are accompanied by two Sabayees or other chiefs.

Some caravans that venture without a convoy, are frequently plundered near the northern confines of the desert by two notorious tribes, called Dikna and Em-jot. These desperate attacks are conducted in the following manner: a whole clan picket their horses at the entrance of their tents, and send out scouts to give

notice when an akkabaah is likely to pass; these being mounted on the Heirie or Shrubba Er'reeh, quickly communicate the intelligence, and the whole clan mount their horses, taking with them a sufficient number of female camels to supply them with milk; they then place themselves in ambush, somewhere near the Oasis or watering-place, from whence, on the arrival of the travellers, they issue forth, and plundering them of every thing, leave them totally destitute.

These travellers being mostly Mahometans, proscribed from the use of wine and intoxicating liquors by their religion, and exhorted by its principles to temperance, are commonly satisfied with a few nourishing dates, and a draught of water. They will travel for weeks successively without any other food; at other times, a little barley-meal and cold water is the extent of their provision, when they undertake a journey of a few weeks across the desert; living in this abstemious manner, they never complain, but generally comfort themselves with the hope of reaching their native country, by occasionally singing. Whenever they approach any habitation, or the camels appear fatigued, their songs are sung in trio, and all the camel-drivers who have musical voices always join. It is worthy observation how much these songs renovate the camels; and the symphony and time which they keep is beyond the expectation of any one who never heard them. In traversing the desert, they generally contrive to end the day's journey at Lassaw, a period corresponding with our four o'clock; so that between that period and the setting-sun, the tents are pitched, prayers said, and the (Lashaw) supper got ready, after which they sit round in a circle, and talk till sleep overcomes them, and at break of day next morning proceed as before.

The articles transported by the company of merchants trading to Tombuctoo, consist of various kinds

man-linens, called platilas, rouans, brettanias; as of different kinds, particularly muls, Irish, cambricks, fine cloths of various colours, coral, amber heads, pearls, Bengal raw silk, brass, coffee, fine Hyson teas, refined sugar, and manufactures of Fez, &c., viz., shawls and sashes of gold; hayks of silk, of cotton and silk, of cotton and of wool; also an immense quantity of hayk (filelly) Tafilelt hayks, a particularly fine and admirably adapted to the climate of Soudan. To these may be added, red woollen caps and turbans, the general covering of the head. Italian silks, nutmegs, cloves, and pepper; cowries, and a considerable quantity of tobacco and salt, the produce of Barbary and Algierre or Billedulgerid. The produce of Soudan returned by the akkabaahs, consists chiefly of gold, twisted gold rings of Wangara, gold rings at Jinnie, bars of gold, elephant's teeth, gum arabian, grains of Saharra, called by Europeans, grains of Paradise; odiferous gums, much esteemed by the Arabs for fumigating, and to which they ascribe many virtues; a great number of slaves purchased at Tombuctoo from the Wangareen, Housso, and other Slatees, who bring them from the interior of the Jibbel Kumra, or Mountains of the interior, a chain which, with little or no interruption, connects the continent of Africa from the west to the east, viz., from Assentee (or Ashantee) in the west, to Persia in the east. Ostrich feathers and ambergris collected on the confines of the desert. The Arabs value the gold jewels of Jinnie, El Herrez; they are usually of pure gold, and some of them of exquisite workmanship, but hollow in the middle, for the purpose of containing the Herrez or charm, which consists of passages from the Koran: these are ranged in a geometrical figure on paper, which being enclosed in the gold jewel is suspended from the neck,

or tied round the arms, legs, or elsewhere. The superstition and predilection for charms, as appears by Park's last travels, pervades the greater part of Africa. In the north maritime states, in Suse, and other parts of Bled el jerrêde, the fakrees or saints attach half a hundred herrez, with a cover of leather instead of gold, to different parts of their body, and even to the horses. At Morocco Mr. Jackson saw eleven round one horse's neck. These are to protect the inhabitants from disorders, occasioned by an evil eye, or the malignant intentions of some departed spirit. The slaves brought to Barbary are more or less valuable according to their beauty, symmetry of person, their age, or their country : thus a Wangareen slave is much inferior to one from Houssa ; the former being a gross stupid people, little superior in understanding to the brute creation, while those of Houssa are intelligent, industrious and acute, with fine countenances, prominent noses, and expressive black eyes. Those of Wangara, on the contrary, have large mouths, thick lips and heavy eyes.

These slaves are treated very differently from the unhappy victims who used to be transported from the coast of Guinea and the British settlements on the Gambia, to the West India islands. From Fez and Morocco the highest bidder carries them to his home, where, if found faithful, they are considered as members of the family, and allowed an intercourse with the free-born women of the household. Being in the daily habit of hearing the Arabic language spoken, they readily reject paganism, and embrace the simpler faith of Mahomet. The most intelligent learn to read and write, and afterwards acquire a partial knowledge of the Koran ; and such as can read and understand one chapter, from that time procure their emancipation from slavery, and the master exults in having converted an infidel, and expects favour from Heaven on that occasion. But if these people do not turn their

minds to reading and learning of the principles of the Mahometan religion, they generally obtain their freedom after eight or ten years' servitude; for the more conscientious Mahometans consider them as servants, and purchase them for about the same sum they would pay in wages to a servant during the above period; at the expiration of which term, by giving them their liberty they, according to their religious opinions, acquire a blessing from God. This liberation is entirely voluntary on the part of the owner; and Mr. Jackson knew some slaves so attached to their masters from good treatment, that they actually refused their liberty when offered it, preferring to continue in servitude. However, the Arabs and Moors are not always inclined thus to liberate these degraded people; particularly the latter, who often make an infamous traffic of them, by purchasing and afterwards intermarrying them for the purpose of propagation and sale.

The eunuchs, which the emperor and princes keep to superintend their respective harems, are mostly procured from the vicinity of Senaar in Soudan; these creatures have shrill and effeminate voices; they are emasculated in a peculiar manner, and sometimes in such a way as not to be incapacitated from cohabiting with women; they are in general very fat and gross; and are mostly very confidential servants; indeed their fidelity is exceeded only by their unbounded insolence.

The city of Tombuctoo is situated on a plain, surrounded by sandy eminences, about twelve miles north of the Nile El Abeede, or Nile of the Blacks, and three days' journey from the confines of Saharra; the city is about twelve miles in circumference, but un-walled. The town of Kabra, situated on the banks of the river, is its commercial depôt or port. By means of a water-carriage, east and west of Kabra, great facility is given to the trade of Tombuctoo, from

whence the various European, as well as Barbary manufactures, are distributed to the different empires and states of Soudan and the south. The houses of Tombuctoo have mostly no upper apartments; they are spacious, and of a square form, with an opening in the centre, towards which the doors open; they have no windows; but as the doors are lofty and wide, they admit of sufficient light to the rooms when thrown open. Contiguous to the entrance door, is a building consisting of two rooms, called a Duaria, for the reception of visitors, who see nothing of the women, who are extremely handsome; when the latter visit a relation, they are so muffled up as to be obliged to peep with one eye to discover their way. The circulating medium here is called (tibber) or gold dust, which is exchanged for merchandise; thus a platillia is worth twenty mizans of gold; a piece of Irish linen of twenty-five yards is worth thirty mizans; and loaf-sugar is worth forty mizans of gold per quintal. Religious toleration prevails at Tombuctoo in the strictest sense. The Divan or L'Alemma, never interferes with the tenets of the various religious professions here; but every one is allowed to worship the great Author of our being, in any form in which he may have been instructed. Such also is the vigilance of the police, that robberies and house-breaking are scarcely ever known. The government is intrusted to a divan, of twelve Alemma or men learned in the Koran, and an umpire, who retain their appointments which they receive from the king for three years. The civil jurisdiction is directed by a Cadi, who decides all judicial proceedings according to the spirit of the Koran; he has twelve talbs of the law, or attorneys, attending him, each of whom has a separate department of justice to engage his attention. The climate of Tombuctoo is much extolled for its salubrious and invigorating quality; so much so, that there is no man of eighteen who has not his wives or concu-

is, all allowable by the laws ; and it is a disgrace to a man who has reached the age of puberty, to be married. The natives, and even long residents, possess an elegance and suavity of manners, not observed elsewhere on this side the Saharra. They possess a great flow of animal spirits, and are generally much attached to the country, that nothing can easily prevent their return to it when abroad. The accommodations for travellers at Tombuctoo are very plain ; camels, horses, drivers and merchants, rent rooms at a large house, having an open space in the middle, round which rooms are built sufficiently large for a bed and table ; these inns, or caravanseras, called Fondaque, and each merchant hires a room for himself, till he can get a house, bartering and exchanging his commodities, till he has invested the whole in the produce of the country ; which he endeavours to accomplish by September, to be ready for the rainy season, to proceed to Morocco, Cairo, Jidda, or elsewhere. Different kinds of apparel at Tombuctoo are made by the women in their respective families, when they cannot procure European cloths or linens, or when there is a great scarcity of Taffeta &c.

The Nile El Abeede, or Nile of the Negroes, overflows in the same manner as the Nile Massar, or Nile of Egypt, when the sun enters Cancer ; this is the rainy season, in the countries south of the Great Desert, and in Jibbel Cumra, or the Mountains of the Moon ; from whence the waters descend, which cause the river to overflow its banks. At Kabra, near Tombuctoo, it becomes a very large stream. Rivers and lakes are found in the Nile Abeede, as well as crocodiles ; and the country contiguous to its southern banks is covered with forests of primeval growth, abounding with large trees and elephants of an enormous size. The river, about as wide as the Thames at London, is so rapid in the middle, as to oblige the

boats that navigate to Jinnie to keep close to the shore, and the boatmen push the boat on with long poles.

The soil about Tombuctoo is generally fertile; and near the river produces rice, millet, Indian corn, and other grain; wheat and barley grow in the plains, and are cultivated principally by the Arabs of the tribe of Brabeesha. Coffee grows wild here, as does also indigo; the latter being cultivated, produces a fine blue dye, which they use in the various cotton manufactures. A specimen of this colour, Mr. Jackson presented to the British Museum several years since; it is of a chequered pattern, similar to a draught-board: the squares are alternate blue and white. These pieces of cotton are manufactured at Jinnie and Tombuctoo, and used as covers to beds; they are valuable from the strength and durability of the texture, and are therefore sold in Barbary at a high price, according to the quantity of silk used in them, and the quality of the cotton; inferior kinds are simply cotton; the width varies from two to twelve inches; and the pieces are sewed together so closely afterwards with silk or thread, that the seams are scarcely perceptible, the whole appearing to be but one piece. The husbandmen or Foolahs, are very expert in the management of bees; honey and wax are abundant; but neither is transported across the desert, because the articles abound in Barbary, and are wanted for home consumption as an article of food, &c. The river about Kabra supplies fish; but the kinds have not been pointed out any further, than they differ from those of Europe. It is asserted, that the mines of gold beyond the southern bed of the river belong to the Sultan Woolo, who resides at Jinnie; and that they are so pure, that lumps of virgin gold are constantly found of several ounces in weight: this being admitted, Mr. Jackson observes, it is not surprising that the value of *this precious metal* should be inconsiderable, and that

some articles of small value with us in Europe, such as tobacco, salt, and manufactured brass, should often sell at Tombuctoo for their weight in gold. Here, however, he wishes to be understood as speaking with some latitude, as the precise value of the circulating medium of Soudan is subject to a great fluctuation, from a company of enterprising speculators of great capital at Fez.

CHAP. XII.

Wreck of the American Brig Commerce—Approach of the Arabs—Distress of the Crew in an open Boat—Sufferings after being made Prisoners—Cruelty of the Arab Women—Sidi Hamet—El Wad Noon—Arabs' Quarrel—Caravan attacked—The Black Heart-headed Serpent—The Heirie.

MR. RILEY, who fell into the hands of the Arabs of the African desert, in August, 1815, was appointed master and supercargo of the brig Commerce, of Hartford; and sailed from the mouth of Connecticut river, on the 6th of May, 1815, on a voyage to New Orleans. The vessel was nearly new, well fitted, about 220 tons burden, and belonged to Messrs. Riley and Brown, Savage and Co., of New York. Her crew consisted of George Williams, chief mate; Aaron R. Savage, second mate; William Porter, James Hogan, James Barrett, Archibald Robbins, Thomas Burns, and James Clark, seamen; Horace Savage, cabin-boy; and Richard Deslisle (a black man), cook.

Having taken on board a cargo of tobacco and flour, they sailed from New Orleans on the 24th June, arrived at Gibraltar on the 9th August, and after taking in some brandies and wines, about 2,000 hard

dollars, and an old man, named Antonio Michael, a native of New Orleans, they proceeded on the 23d for the Cape de Verd Islands; passed Cape Spartel on the 24th, and, on the 28th, after much thick weather, found by observation, that they were in latitude $27^{\circ} 30'$; that the current had set them 120 miles, and that they had passed the Canaries without seeing them. The dark and foggy weather increased, the sea ran high, night came on, and they suddenly found themselves among breakers, from which they in vain endeavoured to extricate themselves, and the ship struck with such violence, as to start every man from the deck. She soon bilged; but they succeeded in getting out of her hold five or six barrels of water, and as many of wine, three barrels of bread, and three or four of salted provisions. All their clothing, chests, trunks, &c., were got up, and the books, charts, and sea instruments stowed in them, in the hope that they might prove useful to them in future.

Having now got a glimpse of the land, at no great distance, Riley and Porter ventured into the small boat, to take a rope on shore; they were presently swamped, and covered with the billows, which, following each other in quick succession, scarcely gave them time to catch a breath, before they were again literally swallowed by them, till at length they were thrown, together with the boat, upon a sandy beach. They fastened the rope to pieces of wood, which had floated from the wreck, and which they drove into the sand. By means of this rope, part of the crew got on shore with the long boat and the provisions and water; but the boat was stove against the beach; and the remainder of the crew were landed one by one, with the assistance of the hawser, but not without some imminent peril of their lives.

Their first care was to secure their provisions and water, "knowing it was a barren and thirsty land," and with this view they formed a raft at fifty yards

from the water's edge, by means of their oars and two steering sails.

Their next object was to repair the boats, in the hope that, when the weather moderated, they might put to sea, and by the help of the compass, find some friendly vessel, or some European settlement down the coast, or reach the Cape de Verd Islands. But while thus employed, something like a human being was observed at a little distance, intent on plunder. Mr. Riley approached him with signs of peace and friendship, but those he received in return were repulsive; however, as he appeared to be unarmed, Riley continued to approach him.

He appeared to be about five feet seven inches high, and of a complexion between that of an American Indian and a negro. He had about him, to cover his nakedness, a piece of coarse woollen cloth, that reached from below his breast nearly to his knees; his hair was long and bushy, resembling a *pitch-mop*, sticking out every way six or eight inches from his head; his face resembled that of an ourang-outang more than a human being; his eyes were red and fiery, his mouth, which stretched nearly from ear to ear, was well lined with sound teeth; and a long curling beard, which depended from his upper lip and chin down upon his breast, gave him altogether a most horrid appearance; and it could not but be imagined that those well-shaped teeth, were sharpened for the purpose of devouring human flesh; he appeared to be very old, yet fierce and vigorous; he was soon joined by two old women of similar appearance, who were taken to be his wives. They looked a little less frightful, though their two eye-teeth stuck out like hog's tusks; and their tanned skins hung in loose plaits on their faces and breasts; but their hair was long and braided. A girl from eighteen to twenty, who was not ugly, and five or six children

of different ages and sexes, from six to sixteen years, were also in company ; these were entirely naked.

This grotesque group were armed with an English hammer, an axe, and long knives suspended from their necks ; and they commenced an indiscriminate plunder ; broke open trunks, chests, and boxes, and carried off all the clothes and bedding, without any molestation, as it was deemed prudent to forbear hostilities with these wretches, weak as they were, since all escape, either by sea or land, was utterly impossible ; their provisions, however, they were determined to defend to the last extremity.

They now set about repairing the long boat, but found her in a most miserable condition ; however, with a little oakum, and some pieces of planks, they contrived to patch her up so as to float. The robbers retired towards the evening, but not before they had contrived to steal one of the sails of the tent ; on departing, they made signs that they would see them again in the morning. With the fire that one of the Arab children had kindled, the shipwrecked mariners roasted a drowned fowl which the surf had thrown up, and with the addition of some salt pork, and a little bread and butter, made a hearty meal ; little thinking that this was to be the last of their provisions they should be permitted to enjoy.

In such a situation, the reflections that night brought with it, may readily be imagined ; a few hours had reduced a sound and comfortable ship to a wreck ; from that wreck they had been thrown on a barren and inhospitable coast ; a tempestuous ocean before them ; behind, a set of savage beings, bearing nothing human but the form, and even that of the most terrific appearance : on the one side almost certain destruction to tempt, with so frail and shattered a boat, the tremendous surges that broke on the shore with such

violence as to make the whole coast tremble : on the other, slavery, and all the miseries of a cruel and protracted death.

At day-light the old Arab, according to promise, made his appearance, with his two wives, and two young men ; he brandished a spear, as if to hurl it at the party, motioned them to the wreck, and pointed to a drove of camels that were descending the heights ; towards which the women ran off at the same time, whooping and yelling horribly, throwing up sand in the air, and beckoning to those who had charge of the camels to approach. The crew, alarmed, made for the boat, and Riley defended himself against the old man's spear with a spar of wood ; the boat, however, immediately filled and was bilged ; the camels approached fast ; the long boat was launched into the water, and in her the whole crew got safe to the wreck.

The camels were immediately loaded with the provisions and the tent, after which the old savage stove in the heads of the water-casks, and casks of wine, emptying their contents on the beach ; he then collected all the trunks, chests, instruments, books and charts, and set fire to them in one pile.

No alternative was now left, but to try the sea in the leaky boat ; for, whether they remained to be washed off the wreck in the course of the night, or to fall into the hands of the barbarians, to stay was inevitable death ; they had no water ; the bread was completely soaked ; and a few bottles of wine, and as many pieces of salt pork, were all they could procure ; they had but two oars left, and those were on shore ; with a plank split in two pieces, however, they attempted to shove off, but a surf struck the boat, and nearly filling her with water, drifted her again alongside the wreck.

The Arabs now appeared to pity their deplorable situation, and made signs of peace and friendship,

inviting Riley, whom they knew to be the captain, to return to the shore; they carried their arms behind the sand-hills, to allay their fears; and brought down a skin full of water, which they held up; all of them retired, except the old man, who waded with it into the surf up to his arm-pits. At length Riley ventured by the hawser, took the water, and returned with it on board. He again went on shore; the women and children approached; seemed very friendly, laced their fingers within his, and made use of all the means that occurred to them likely to inspire confidence. Instantly, however, he found himself seized by two young men, who grasped his arms like lions, and the women and children presented their daggers, knives, and spears, to his head and breast. Their faces assumed the most horrid and malignant expression; they gnashed their teeth at him, and struck their daggers within an inch of every part of his head and body. The old man laid hold of his hair, and seizing a scimitar, held it to his throat, giving him to understand there was money on board, and that it must instantly be brought on shore.

When the ship was wrecked, Mr. Riley had divided the dollars among the crew. On being informed of their demand, he hailed the men, and told them what the savages required; accordingly, a bucket was sent on shore, with about one thousand dollars. The old man instantly laid hold of it, and forcing Riley to accompany him, they all went behind the sand-hills, to divide the spoil. In this situation, Riley felt himself uneasy, and in order to regain the beach, he made signs that there was still more money remaining in the ship: this hint succeeded, and, in the idea of getting it, they allowed him again to hail his people, when, instead of money, he desired them to send the old man, Antonio Michel, on shore, as the only possible means left for

him to effect his own escape. The Arabs finding on his reaching the shore, that he had brought no money with him, struck him with their fists, pricked him with their sharp knives, and stripped him of all his clothes; and at this moment, while they were busy with this poor old man, Riley seized the opportunity of springing from his keepers, and plunged into the sea. On rising through the surf, he perceived the old Arab within ten feet of him; up to his chin in water, with his uplifted spear; but another surf rolling at that instant over him, saved his life, and he reached the lee of the wreck in safety; but the remorseless brutes wreaked their vengeance on poor Antonio, by plunging a spear into his body, which laid him lifeless at their feet.

The wreck was by this time going rapidly to pieces; the long-boat resembled an old basket; they had neither provisions, water, oars, or rudder, to the boat; neither compass nor quadrant to direct her course: yet, hopeless as their situation was, and expecting to be swallowed up by the first surf, they resolved to try their fate on the ocean, rather than encounter certain death from the relentless savages on shore. By great exertion they succeeded in finding a water-cask in the hold, out of which they filled a keg of about four gallons. One of the seaman (Porter) stole on shore by the hawser, and brought on board the two oars, with a small bag of money, which they had buried on their first landing, containing about 400 dollars; they also contrived to get together a few pieces of salt pork, a live pig, weighing about twenty pounds, about four pounds of figs, that had been soaking in the salt water since the time they were wrecked, a spar for the boat's mast, a jib, and a mainsail.

Every thing being ready, and every man having made up his mind, that it was better to be swallowed up altogether, than massacred one by one by the

their feet lacerated and bleeding; their bodies heated, nearly to desiccation, by the scorching rays of the sun; they were without water, without provisions, and almost without a breath of air.

They advanced but four miles during the whole day, without any prospect of being able to ascend the cliffs; and halted at a piece of sand favourable for sleeping upon. All, excepting Riley, had a little fresh water left, and as they knew he had not one drop, two of them offered to let him taste of theirs, with which he just moistened his tongue, and after sending up prayers to heaven for mercy and relief, in their forlorn and desolate condition, they laid themselves down to sleep.

On awaking, on the morning of the 9th of September, they found that the chill air had benumbed their limbs; but the appearance of a wide sandy beach a-head, where, by digging, they might probably obtain water, instilled fresh hopes, and they made towards it; but a promontory of rocks jutting into the sea again, impeded their progress; however, with the utmost difficulty and danger, and at the expense of bruised limbs and bodies, they succeeded in passing this formidable barrier; but they found, on digging, that the water, which rose through the sand, was as salt as that of the ocean. The cliffs, however, were here less abrupt; and Riley, after a long search, discovered a path which brought him to the summit, where he hoped to find some vegetable substance that might help their burning thirst, and some tree to shelter him from the scorching blaze of the sun; but his expectation may be better imagined than described. A wide expanse of uniform barrenness met his eye, extending in every direction as far as could reach. There was not a blade of grass, nor the least trace of vegetation.

which required constantly baling, had, in the course of a few days, so exhausted the crew, that they gave up, and became resigned, or rather callous, to their fate; their spirits were, however, a little revived, by putting their boat about, and standing in again towards the land, which they discovered on the sixth day. On approaching a small spot that bore the appearance of a sandy beach, they made for it, and were carried on the top of a tremendous wave so as to be high and dry, the surf foaming, as it retired, with a dreadful roaring over the craggy heads of the rocks lying in the very track they had passed.

Their boat was now completely stove; their provisions all consumed; huge masses of rocks were suspended over their heads, extending both ways as far as the eye could reach; their limbs were benumbed and quite stiff, for want of exercise; their flesh wasted for want of sustenance; and their tongues were so stiff in their parched mouths, that it was with great difficulty they could speak to each other. They clambered the rocks in vain to get access to the summit, and when it drew dark, they laid themselves down to rest, and, notwithstanding their dreadful and hopeless situation, they slept soundly till daylight.

The place where they now were, as it afterwards appeared, was Cape Barbas, not far from Cape Blanco, and that near which their ship had been wrecked, was Cape Bojador, some distance to the northward. On one side of the narrow beach, was the roaring ocean; on the other, cliffs rising to the height of five or six hundred feet; in some places overhanging the narrow slip of sand, in others rising perpendicularly from it. Proceeding easterly, close to the water's edge, every now and then, they had to clamber over ledges of rock jutting into the sea, or *huge fragments that had been undermined and tumbled down*: their shoes were nearly worn out;

their feet lacerated and bleeding ; their bodies heated, nearly to desiccation, by the scorching rays of the sun ; they were without water, without provisions, and almost without a breath of air.

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rits fainted within him—he fell senseless to the and for some time knew not where he was— seized on him, and he resolved to cast himself e sea as soon as he could reach it, and put an his life and miseries together. At this mo- he reflection that so many fellow-creatures up to him for an example of fortitude and ation, and the recollection of his wife and en, bursting upon his mind, roused him to fresh ns; he walked down to the sea-shore, and ; bathed himself for half an hour, felt much ed, and rejoined his party. With heavy hearts ttering limbs they left the beach, Riley having, e measure, prepared his companions in misfor- r the dismal prospect when they had surmounted nk; but when they had actually surveyed the d dreary waste, stretching out to an immea- e extent before their eyes, they exclaimed, enough! we must here breathe our last, we no hope before us of finding either water or ions, or human beings, or even wild beasts; g can live here.” The greater part lay down a determination to die on the spot; but by the nce and persuasion of Hogan, Williams, and e, they were induced to proceed along the edge cliffs, which were from five to six hundred i height; the surface of the ground was baked rd as flint, being a reddish coloured earth, co- with small rugged stones and gravel.

the approach of evening, the last ray of hope to fade away, and the gloom of despair had possession of every heart, when Clark called ‘A light!’ it was the light of a fire. This at revived their spirits, and diffused new life into ie crew; even certain slavery, and probable , at the hand of human beings, now seemed able to a lingering death from hunger and on the desolate and dreary desert.

Riley observed, that death then had no terrors; that his thirst had become so insupportable, that he was willing to sell his life for a gill of fresh water—but though reduced to as miserable a state as human beings could exist in, and objects well calculated to excite pity, even in the breast of a savage Arab, he thought it more prudent to wait till morning, than alarm them with a night visit, which would probably be fatal to the whole party.

After an anxious and sleepless night, they all went forward towards the place where the light had been seen, and soon discovered a large drove of camels, and a company of Arabs, busied in watering them; one man and two women ran towards them; the shipwrecked mariners bowed themselves to the ground with every mark of submission, and by signs implored their compassion; but the fellow, being armed with a naked scimitar, made as if he would cut them down, and assisted by the women, began to strip off their clothing. Other Arabs speedily came up, yelling and throwing sand in the air, and the whole party was presently stripped naked to the skin. The Arabs now began to fight most furiously for the booty, and especially for getting possession of the prisoners. They cut at each other over Riley's head, and on every side of him, with their bright weapons, which whizzed through the air within an inch of his naked body, and on every side of him, hacking each other's arms apparently to the bone, and laying their ribs bare with gashes, while their heads, hands, and thighs, received a full share of cuts and wounds. The blood streaming from every gash, ran down their bodies, colouring and heightening the natural hideousness of their appearance. During this affray Riley was not injured; he, with the black cook, were delivered into the hands of two old women, who urged them on with sticks towards the camels; they came to a well, the water of which

was nearly as black and disgusting as stale bilge water ; but a little sour camel's milk poured from a skin into it made it taste delicious, and they all drank of it till their stomachs were literally filled ; but this drink infected the whole party with a troublesome diarrhoea.

The Arabs themselves had as little to eat as their prisoners ; they consisted of about one hundred persons, men, women, and children ; and their camels, large and small, from four to five hundred.

They now separated into two parties ; Mr. Williams, Robins, Porter, Hogan, Barrett, and Burns, mounted on the bare backs of the camels, behind the hump, going off with one party towards the desert ; Riley, Mr. Savage, Clarke, Horace, and Dick, the black cook, remaining with the other. The skins being filled with this nauseous water, and the baskets tied on, in which the women and children were placed, the latter party also began to mount the sand-hills up the gulley, but the prisoners were obliged to drive the camels on foot, naked as they were, in a scorching sun, sinking to the knee at every step, or the sharp craggy rocks cutting their naked feet ; and if they attempted to stop, they were forced on by the application of a stick to their sore backs, by their unfeeling drivers, who only laughed at their misery, and amused themselves by whipping them forward.

On arriving at the summit, they selected five camels, which these unfortunate men were ordered to mount. They had no saddles, but were placed behind the humps, to which they were obliged to cling, by grasping the long hair with both hands. The back bone was only covered with skin, and as sharp as the edge of an oar's blade ; as steep as the roof of a house, and so broad as to keep the legs extended to the utmost stretch. The Arabs had small round saddles : thus mounted, the whole party set off, at a great trot, to the eastward. The heavy motions

of the camel, are not unlike that of a small vessel tossed by a head sea, and so violent that they excoriated the lower part of their naked bodies. The inside of Riley's thighs and legs were also dreadfully chafed, so that the blood dripped from his heels, while the intense heat of the sun had scorched and blistered their bodies, and the outside of their legs, so that they were covered with sores, and without any thing to administer relief.

The direction in which they proceeded was about south-east, over a plain, flat, hard surface of sand, gravel, and rock, covered with small sharp stones. When night came on there was no indication of stopping, still they proceeded, and the cold night wind chilled the blood and stopped it from trickling down their lacerated legs; they begged permission to get off, and endeavoured to excite the compassion of the women under whose charge they were left, entreating them for a little water; but these hags paid no attention to their distress, and kept the camels running faster than before. Riley then slipped purposely off his camel, at the risk of breaking his neck.

They were obliged to keep up with the camels, running over the stones, which were nearly as sharp as gun-flints, and cutting their feet to the very bone at every step. Here the fortitude and philosophy of Riley failed to support him, he cursed his fate aloud, and wished he had rushed into the sea before he gave himself up to those merciless beings in human form; he would have put an immediate end to his existence, but had neither knife nor any other weapon with which to perform the deed. He searched for a stone, intending, if he could find one sufficiently large, to knock out his own brains with it; but searched in vain.

From this time, in all his future trials and sufferings, he never once murmured, but determined to keep up his spirits, and, by precept and practice,

endeavoured to persuade his unhappy comrades to do the same.

About midnight they halted in a small dell or valley, from fifteen to twenty feet below the surface of the desert, after travelling about forty miles. Here, for the first time, they got about a pint of pure camel's milk each, which warmed their stomachs, quenched their thirst in some measure, and allayed, in a great degree, the cravings of hunger. The wind was chilling cold; they lay on sharp stones perfectly naked; their bodies blistered and mangled; the stones piercing their naked flesh to the ribs: these distressing sufferings, added to those desponding reflections that would obtrude themselves, rendered the night long and dismal, and none of them closed their eyes.

On the morning of the 11th, a pint of milk was divided among four, being just enough to wet their mouths. The condition of their feet was horrible beyond description.

They soon came to another small valley, where tents were pitched, and about one hundred and fifty people, of all ages, and both sexes, assembled. Here, it appeared, they were to be separated, Clark being given to one party, Horace to another, and Riley, with the cook, remaining with their first master.

The women came out of their tents to gaze at them, and by way of expressing their disgust and contempt, spat upon them as they went along, making their faces still more horrid by every possible contortion of their frightful features. At last an old man came up to Riley, and by his plain and distinct manner of speaking, by his significant signs, and by making use of the words, "O Fransah, O Spaniah," he understood him to ask what countrymen they were; to which he replied, *Inglesis*; he then asked from what part of the horizon—and Riley pointed to

the north ; he then repeated the words *Marocksh, Sooltaan, Moolay Soliman*, to all which Riley nodded assent—that he knew him—that he lived in such a direction ; and made signs that if they would carry him and his comrades thither, they would receive so much money ; but they shook their heads, signifying that the distance was great, and that there was nothing to eat or drink on the way either for them or their camels.

It was midnight before they got any thing to eat or drink, when some milk and water was given to them. Riley this night sunk into a kind of sleep, which was disturbed with the most horrible dreams ; these, however, were followed by one of a contrary nature, in which he saw a tall young man mounted on a horse, habited in an European dress, who told him to take courage, for that God had decreed he should again embrace his beloved wife and children ; at this instant his master called him. He awoke, and found it was a dream ; but it was a dream that tended to keep up his spirits, and afterwards on seeing Mr. Willshire, he immediately recognized the features of the phantom that appeared in his sleep.

In the evening Hogan joined them, when they found they had been purchased by an Arab of the name of Hamet, who, near midnight, brought each of them about a pint of camel's milk. On the morning of the 13th, they again set out, continuing their course nearly south-east.

In the course of the day, Riley came up with Mr. Williams, the chief mate, in a most dreadful situation, who told him that he could not possibly survive another day in such misery. " If," said this unhappy man, " you should ever get clear from this dreadful place, and be restored to your country, tell my dear wife that my last breath was spent in prayers for her happiness ;" he could say no more ; tears and sobs choked his utterance ; and they were separated.

The face of the desert appeared as smooth as the surface of the ocean when unruffled by winds; and camels could be seen in every direction, like ships at sea, when just appearing in the horizon. In the evening when they halted, Riley asked the women for a little water; but they not only laughed and spat at him, but drove him away from under the shade of the tent.

On the 20th, they made a turn towards the north-west or sea-shore, and when they halted, two strangers came up, each having a double-barrelled gun; one of the women told Riley it was Sidi Hamet and his brother, from the sultan's dominions, who had come with blankets and blue cloth to sell. The former came up to them, and asked Riley if he was *El Rais*, (the captain) and gave him some water to drink; Poor Clark was then apparently in a dying state, stretched out on his back, a perfect wreck of almost naked bones; his belly and back nearly collapsed, and breathing like a person in the last agonies of death. Sidi Hamet, observing him, suffered Riley to carry him also a little water; it was the first *fresh* water which they had tasted since they had left the boat; the poor creature's eyes brightened up—"This is good water," said he, "and must have come from a better country than this; if we were once there, and I could get one good drink of such water, I could die with pleasure; but now I cannot live another day." About midnight a pint of milk was given to each.

Sidi Hamet was an Arab trader, in whom avarice had not altogether subdued the feelings of humanity. After questioning Riley very closely as to his hopes of redemption at Suara or Mogadore, and what money he would ensure his receiving on being carried thither; after much hesitation, and a great deal of bargaining, he at length concluded a purchase of him from the old Arab, who had claimed him as his slave: and after many entreaties and assurances of a

good round sum of money, he was also induced to purchase Horace, Clark, and Savage, but would have nothing to say to Hogan.

In addition to the small quantity of milk they had hitherto received, each of them had been enabled, as they travelled along, to pick up a few snails, which seemed to be the only living creatures on the desert.

Sadi Hamet now caused an old meagre camel to be killed, which he had purchased for a blanket. A vein in his neck was first opened close to his breast; the blood was received into a kettle, placed over the fire and boiled, stirring it all the time till it became thick, and of the consistence of bullock's liver. The appetites of Riley and his companions were voracious, and they soon filled their stomachs with that, to them, delicious food. The skin being then taken off, the entrails were rolled out, and put into the kettle without cleaning; as they had no water, a slit was cut in the camel's paunch, into which a bowl was dipped, and the thick contents poured into the kettle; the whole was then boiled and well stirred, the Arabs now and then taking out a gut, and biting off an end, to ascertain whether it was cooked enough.

Before the morning, one half of the meat and bones of the camel's carcase was carried off, without the possibility of Sidi Hamet and his brother, to whom it belonged, being able to prevent it; they could scarcely get a bite of the intestines without fighting for it.

Burus, who was an old man, now came up, and Sidi Hamet purchased him also for an old blanket.

The two brothers, Sidi and Seid, it seems, had expended all their property in this adventure, and were consequently interested in bringing their slaves safe to Mogadore.

Riley was now furnished with a check shirt, which

Sidi told him he had stolen for him ; Clark had met with a piece of an old sail that partly covered him ; Burns had procured an old jacket, and Horace and Mr. Savage had obtained goats' skins.

For eighteen days the camels had not tasted a drop of water ; they were themselves reduced to drink the camel's urine. They laid down upon the hard ground without a morsel to eat.

On the morning of the 29th, they proceeded in the same direction, when they discovered, what appeared to be a high land, but it proved to be the opposite bank of what seemed once to have been the bed of a large river, though now perfectly dry ; they descended into it down a precipitous bank, four or five hundred feet in height. In this ravine Sidi Hamet questioned Riley very closely about his acquaintance at Suara, made him repeat his bargain, and told him if he deceived him he would certainly cut his throat, for that he and his brother had expended their whole property in the purchase of them on speculation.

At some height, on the edge of the northern bank, they found a delightful spring of fresh water, covered with a large rock, from fifteen to twenty feet high, cool, fresh, and sweet. Here they remained some time before they could water their camels, the largest of which drank full sixty gallons, the poor creature not having tasted water for twenty days before. This valley was the bed of an arm of the sea ; the high banks, distant from each other eight or ten miles, were worn and washed by water ; the level bottom was encrusted with marine salt ; they were then about three hundred miles from the sea coast ; the spring was not more than a hundred feet below the surface of the desert, and from three hundred and fifty to four hundred from the bottom of the valley, over which, as they travelled easterly, the ground crumbled under the feet of the camels like a thin crust of snow.

With difficulty they ascended on the northern side to the top of the level desert, which had the same appearance as that on the opposite side: no undulation of surface, neither rock, tree, nor shrub, to arrest the view within the horizon; all was a dreary and solitary waste. By the meridian height of the pole-star, it was judged, by Riley, that this supposed bed of the ocean must be in about the 20th parallel of latitude.

In travelling between north-east and east, Sidi Hamet said he saw a camel, but Riley could discern nothing for two hours afterwards, when something appeared like a speck in the horizon; and it was not until sunset that they came up with a large drove of camels. They had travelled, this day, fourteen hours without a morsel of food or a drop of water; but towards midnight, some meat was dealt out to them, together with a large bowl of milk and water.

On the evening of the 1st (October) they met with a drove of camels, which had been watering to the northward; by these people they were conducted to a shallow valley, where about fifty tents were pitched; here the ground was, in many places, covered with short moss, and here and there a few small shrubs. The next day the whole party moved to the northward. The tribe had about fifty lean sheep, one of which was purchased by Sidi Hamet, and they gave them all as much milk as they could drink.

On the 4th they travelled about thirty-five miles, north-east, when the entrails of the sheep were given to them for supper. They were now arrived among immense sand hills, piled up like drifted snow, towering to the height of two hundred feet, without a blade of grass to relieve the eye. The trade-winds blew violently, and buried the travellers in clouds of sand, which, driven forcibly against their sore bodies, gave them exquisite pain. To add to their other miseries they were now all afflicted with a vio-

lent diarrhœa, which they stopped by chewing the bitter bark of a small shrub, that grew where they had passed the night.

On the night of the 5th they thought they heard the roaring of the sea, which was confirmed by Sidi Hamet, the next day. They met with two camels with sacks on their backs, and other articles, the owner of which, being asleep on the sands, Sidi Hamet and his brother drove them off with their own. The sacks contained barley and barley-meal, a quantity of which they took, and then let the camels go; but the owner, on discovery of the robbery, followed them, and got back his barley, Sidi Hamet having assured him that it was taken only to prevent the starvation of the slaves; but he still contrived to carry off two little bags, which he had also stolen, containing gold dust, charms, &c.

On the 8th they fell in with a large drove of camels, sheep, and goats, browsing in a valley, and observed about twenty tents pitched near a small thicket of thorn trees, some of them eight inches in diameter. A kid was here purchased, and the entrails given to the Christian slaves; at midnight, however, a bowl was brought to them, containing about four or five pounds of a kind of stir-about, or hasty-pudding, into which was poured a pint or more of good sweet milk, and they agreed that this was the most delicious meat they had ever tasted. Proceeding to the northward, they fell in with several wells, but the water of all of them was brackish; at many of them were parties watering their camels.

On the 11th, after travelling nearly seventy miles, they reached a cluster of bushes, which they had seen from a great distance, looking like an island in the midst of a lake; here they found some brackish water. They now got into the bed of a large river, or arm of the sea; at the bottom of which was a sheet of white salt, that made a crackling noise under the feet of the

camels. Getting out of this glen, and entering some sand hills, they met with an Arab driving some goats, of which Sidi Hamet seized four, and paid the unarmed Arab with an old worn-out camel. On reaching the height, they perceived the sea at a distance on their left, the sight of which revived their drooping spirits. They descended the heights, and now travelled along the sea-shore, in company with an Arab and his wife, who were going the same way; the woman having been at Lancerota, could speak a little Spanish. Presently they fell in with another Arab in his tent, who affected to speak Spanish, and through him Sidi Hamet again tried to discover whether Riley really had a friend in Suesa, and again gave him to understand that if he deceived him, he most surely would have his throat cut.

The road being along the edge of the sea-coast, was rugged and uneven, and they travelled over it in the night, to avoid the numerous robbers that lurk among the sand hills. In the course of the night journey, Mr. Savage fainted, and fell off his camel, upon which Seid and another Arab began to beat him with sticks, and conceiving that he was perverse and obstinate, had intended to put him to death, that they might not be delayed, lest they should fall in with robbers; and it was with the utmost difficulty they could be made to understand that any man could faint through hunger and fatigue—it was something new to them; but, when, by means of a little water, he revived, Sidi Hamet appeared to be affected at the treatment he had received.

On the 17th, still travelling along the sea-shore, on the sloping bank which rose from the sandy beach, they observed the black tops of high mountains in the distant horizon, towards the east, and shortly after reached a wall, where some men were watering about forty horses and camels. Here they crossed a small river, the water of which was clear as crystal, and

of fish; on its banks grew a few bushes, resembling dwarf alders and rushes. Near this place, was found a plant, with a stem from three to five inches in diameter, the branches spreading like an umbrella, to the diameter of fifteen or twenty feet; they were very tender, and, on being broken off, a glutinous liquid resembling milk, dropped from them; it had a disagreeable smell when burning, and was very nauseous to the taste; it was supposed to be a species of aloe or euphorbium. On this day we met with the first signs of cultivation, and at night enjoyed the luxury of sleeping on a heap of straw. They, who had for so long a time been obliged to repose their wearied limbs and wasted frames on the baked bosom of the desert, or the dead sides of barren sand-drifts, this solitary heap of fresh straw seemed softer and sweeter than a bed of down. On the 19th they passed a few rough stone huts, and a stream of clear water, purling over a pebbly bottom; its banks were covered with green bushes and shrubs in full blossom; beyond this were cows, asses, and sheep feeding; date-trees, likewise, shaded the margin of the rivulet. So sudden and unexpected a change threw them into raptures; excess of joy had far overpowered their faculties, that it was with difficulty they reached the water's edge, but urging forward to the brink with headlong steps, and fearfully plunging in their mouths like thirsty-camels, they swallowed down large draughts, until satiated they were bade them stop. By the Arabs the place is called *El Wed Noon*. Here Sidi Hamet treated them with some honey, which they devoured, comb and all; and the bees altogether, their hearts swelling with gratitude to God, and tears of joy trickling down their blessed cheeks.

This place appeared to be a great thoroughfare, and several armed parties on horseback passed on towards the desert. They now proceeded to the northward,

parallel with, and occasionally upon, the sea-beach; and speedily reached a cultivated country, in which were several walled villages, surrounded with gardens and other enclosures. As they approached the Moorish dominions, Seid, the brother, who had been all along suspicious of Riley's story about his acquaintance at Mogadore, and had often wished to sell Horace and Mr. Savage, whom he claimed as *his* slaves, was now determined to go no farther, and laid hold of the two unfortunate Christians, in order to carry them back to the first horde he should fall in with, and sell them for what they would fetch: Sidi's wrath was kindled at his brother's obstinacy—he leaped from his camel, and, darting like lightning up to Seid, laid hold of him, and disengaged Mr. Savage and Horace from his grasp. They clenched each other like lions, and with fury in their looks each strove to throw the other on the ground. Seid was the largest and the stoutest man; they writhed and twisted in every shape until both fell, but Sidi Hamet was the undermost: fire seemed to flash from his eyes, while they twisted around each other like a couple of serpents; until at length Sidi Hamet, by superior activity or skill, disengaged himself from his brother's grasp, and both sprang up on their feet; instantly they snatched their muskets at the same moment, and each retiring a few paces, with great rapidity and indignation tore the cloth covers from their guns; and presented them at each other's breast with dreadful fury: they were not more than ten yards asunder, and both must have fallen dead, had they fired. Sidi Hamet, however, fired his musket in the air, and walking up to Seid, said, "Now I am unarmed—fire! your brother's head is ready to receive your balls: glut your vengeance on your benefactor." A violent dispute ensued, in which the brutal Seid, seizing Horace by the breast, dashed him to the ground, where he lay for some time senseless. At length mat-

ters were adjusted, and they proceeded to a village to pass the night. Here Sadi Hamet told them he should depart for Mogadore, leaving them in the custody of Seid and another Arab of the name of Bo-Mahommed; and that Riley must write a letter to his friend at Suara, desiring him to pay the money for himself and people, when they should be free; if not," said he, you must die for having deceived me, and your men shall be sold for what they will bring:" he added, "I have fought for you, have suffered hunger, thirst, and fatigue, for I believe that God is with you. I have paid away all my money on your word alone." A scrap of paper, a reed, and some black liquor, was then brought to Riley, who wrote briefly the circumstances of the loss of the ship, his captivity, &c. adding, "Worn down to the bone by the most dreadful of all sufferings—naked and a slave—I implore your pity, and trust that such distress will not be suffered to plead in vain." The letter was addressed 'to the English, French, Spanish, or American consuls, or any Christian merchants in Mogadore.' The anxiety of the captives may well be imagined.

For seven days after Sidi Hamet's departure, they were shut up in a yard during the day, where cows, sheep, and asses, rested; and locked up at night in a dry cellar. On the evening of the eighth day, a Moor came into the enclosure, and brought them a letter. Riley *felt* as if his heart was forcing its way up into his throat, and it entirely obstructed his breath: he broke it open; but his emotions were such, that it was impossible for him to read its contents, and he handed it to Mr. Savage; for his frame trembled to such a degree that he could not stand, and he sunk to the earth. The letter was from 'William Willshire, the English consul;' it told them, that he had agreed to the demands of Sidi Hamet, whom he kept as an hostage for their safe appearance; that the bearer, *Rais Bel-Cossim*, would conduct them to Mogadore.

This Bel-Cossim was the very man who purchased Adams at Wed-noon. He also sent them various kinds of provisions, cloaks, and shoes. Thus accoutred and fortified, they set out under their new conductor, with another person who had joined them, of the name of Scheik Ali, an Arab of a tribe near the north border of the Great Desert, one of whose daughters Sidi Hamet had married. They passed a ruined city, before the breached walls of which was still standing a sort of battering-ram. It had been sacked, and the ground was strewn with human bones bleached in the sun. They also passed several small sanctuaries surmounted with domes, and a tolerably well-cultivated country, abounding with cattle.

On the 30th of October they crossed the Wod-Sehlem, or river Sehlem, and the town of Schlemah. On their arrival at a walled city called Stuka, which might contain about five thousand souls, Scheik Ali procured from the chief, Muley Ibrahim, an order for their detention, under pretence that they were the slaves of Sidi Hamet, and his son-in-law, who was indebted to him in a large sum of money; and it was not before the 4th of November that they were able to procure their release.

At Santa Cruz, as usual, they were pelted with stones by the rabble, and saluted with every abusive epithet that could be thought of. This was not the worst; for here again Scheik Ali persuaded the governor to seize the slaves of Sidi Hamet for a supposed debt, which he was only prevented from doing by the unceasing activity of the Rais Bel-Cossim, who detected what was passing, and got them out of the town at an early hour in the morning. After a fatiguing and perilous journey, they came in sight of Mogadore, where English colours were floating in the harbour, and the American flag in the city. At this transporting sight, the little blood remaining in

Riley's veins gushed through his glowing heart with wild impetuosity, and seemed to pour a flood of new life through every part of his exhausted frame.

They were presently met by Mr. Willshire, whose kind reception and commiseration for their sufferings does honour to human nature. He took each man by the hand, welcomed them to life and liberty, while tears trickled down his manly cheeks, and the sudden rush of all the generous and manly feelings of his heart nearly choked his utterance.

The meeting was so affecting, that Rais Bel-Cosim wept, and hid himself behind a wall, that none might witness so degrading and womanish a weakness in a Moor.

Mr. Willshire conducted them to his house, had them all cleansed, clothed, and fed, and spared no pains nor expense in procuring every comfort, and in administering with his own hands, night and day, such refreshment as their late severe sufferings and debility required. At the instance of Mr. Willshire, Riley was weighed, and fell short of ninety pounds, though his usual weight had been over two hundred and forty: the light weight of his companions was scarcely credible; and it would hardly be thought possible, that the bodies of men retaining the vital spark, should not weigh *forty pounds* each!

The miserable condition to which those unfortunate beings who fall into the hands of the inhuman Arabs are reduced, shews that the general effect on the minds of Christian captives is most deplorable. Riley's situation is thus described:—His mind (though his body was worn down to a skeleton,) which had been previously strong, and supported him through all his trials, distresses, and sufferings, and enabled him to encourage and keep up the spirits of his frequently despairing fellow-sufferers, could no longer sustain him: his sudden change of situation seemed to have relaxed the *very springs of his soul*, and all his faculties fell into

the wildest confusion. The unbounded kindness, the goodness and whole attention of Mr. Willshire, who made use of all the soothing language of which the most affectionate brother or friend is capable, tended but to ferment the tempest that was in his brain: he became delirious—was bereft of his senses—and for the space of three days knew not where he was. When his reason returned, he found he had been constantly attended by Mr. Willshire, and generally kept in his room, though he would sometimes persuade him to walk in the gallery with him, and used every means in his power to restore and compose his bewildered senses: that he had frequently continued bathed in tears, and shuddering at the sight of every human being, fearing he should again be carried into slavery. He had slunk into the darkest corner of his room; but, though insensible, he seemed to know the worth of his friend and deliverer, and would agree to, and comply with, his advice and directions.

The reflections to which the horrors of his late sufferings and slavery, and his providential escape from them, gave rise, kept him almost constantly bathed in tears for the greater part of a month. When he had retired to rest, and sleep had closed his eyes, his mind, still retaining the strong impression of his past sufferings, made them the subjects of his dreams. He used to rise in his sleep, and think he was driving camels up and down the sand hills near the desert, or along the craggy steeps of Morocco; obeying his master's orders in putting on the fetters, or bechets, on the legs and knees of his camels; and in the midst of his agonizing toils and heart-sickening anxieties, while groping about his room, he would hit his head against something, which would startle and awaken him; then he would throw himself on his bed again to sleep, and dream and act over similar scenes.

Sidi Hamet, to his credit, redeemed the pledge

which he made at parting with Riley. "Your friend," said he (Mr. Willshire) has fed me with milk and honey, and I will always in future do what is in my power to redeem Christians from slavery." Scarcely two months after, the brig *Surprise*, of Glasgow, with a crew of seventeen persons and three passengers, was cast away close to Cape Bojador, viz., on the 28th of December, 1815, when the whole, with the exception of two that were drowned, fell into the hands of the Arabs, who marched them as usual into the interior, till they met a Moor on horseback, to whom they were delivered, and who took them to Wednoon. This Moor was no other than Sidi Hamet, who advised them to write to Mr. Willshire, English consul at Suara; who, having heard of the wreck, had already entered into engagements for their ransom with Sidi Ishem, the chief of Wednoon, and principal owner of the caravan which perished in the desert. They were ransomed and sent to England, as was also, at the same time, a lad named Alexander Scott, who was wrecked in the *Montezuma*, of Liverpool, in 1810, and had remained in slavery ever since. Though not twenty, his appearance was most deplorable, and he wore the marks of extreme age.

It appears, by letters received by Riley in America, from Mr. Willshire, that Porter and Burns had been ransomed by him; that two others had been released from further suffering in this world: and that Sidi Ishem had heard some vague rumours of the rest in the southern part of the desert.

The mutual robberies, and the violence continually exercised upon each other by these Arabs, in a small degree, as opportunities present themselves, are sometimes carried on upon a very large scale, and of course attended with a corresponding destruction of human life. Riley has furnished us with the following striking instance of this kind, as it was related by one of the parties concerned. This is an account of an

an attack made by Arab robbers on the great united caravan from Tombuctoo to Algiers, Tripoli, and Fez.

“ Our caravan consisted of about fifteen hundred men, most of us well armed with double-barrelled guns and scimitars ; and we had about four thousand camels. It was a long journey to the next well ; so we stopped here six days peaceably, having encamped in a valley a little distance west of the pond or lake. We had always made the camels lie down in a circle, placing the goods in the centre, and the men between the camels and the goods ; we had two hundred men on guard, and always ready for any emergency. In the night of the sixth day, about two hours after midnight, we were attacked by a very large body of wandering Arabs ; they had arrived within a few yards of us before they were discovered, and poured in a most destructive fire of musketry, at the same time running in like hungry tigers, with spears and scimitars in their hands, with dreadful yellings : they threw the whole caravan into confusion for a moment ; but we were in a complete circle, formed by the camels, which with the guards kept them off for a short time, till the whole of our men seized their arms and rallied. The battle now raged most furiously ; it was cloudy and very dark ; the blaze of the powder making only a faint light, whilst the cracking of musketry, the clashing of swords, the shouts of combatants, and the bellowings of the wounded and frightened camels, together with the groans of the wounded and dying men, made the most dreadful and horrid uproar that can be conceived. The fight continued for about two hours, hand to hand, and breast to breast, when the assailants gave way, and ran off, leaving their dead and wounded on the field of battle. We remained with our arms in our hands all night. *I was wounded with a ball in my thigh, and Seid with a dagger on his breast.*” They then shewed Riley

their scars. "In the morning we numbered our men, and found that two hundred and thirty were killed, and about one hundred wounded; three hundred of the camels were either slain, or so badly wounded that they could not walk, and so we killed them. We found seven hundred of our enemies lying on the ground, either dead or wounded: those that were badly wounded we killed, to put them out of pain, and carried the others that could walk along with us for slaves; of these there were about one hundred. As the enemy fled, they took all their good camels with them, for they had left them at a distance, so that we only found about fifty poor ones, which we killed; but we picked up two hundred and twenty good double-barrelled guns from the ground. The gun which Seid uses is one of them: we got also about four hundred scimitars, or long knives. We were told by the prisoners, that the company who attacked us was upwards of four thousand strong; and that they had been preparing for it for three moons. We were afraid of another attack, and went off the same day, and travelled all the night, steering to the north-east (out of the course the caravans commonly take) twenty-three days' journey, when we came to a place called the Eight Wells, where we found plenty of good water. Fifty of our men had died, and twenty-one of the slaves."

Mr. Grey Jackson's account of the black heart-headed serpent called Bouska is confirmed by Mr. Riley, who gives the following account of the exhibition of this and another while he was at Rabat.

"I paid two dollars for a station, and I looked into the room without interruption. It was about twenty feet long, and fifteen broad, paved with tiles, and plastered within. The windows had also been secured by an additional grating made of wire, in such a manner as to render it impossible for the serpents to escape from the room; it had but one door, and that

had a hole cut through it six or eight inches square; this hole was secured by a grating. In the room stood two men, who appeared to be Arabs, with long bushy hair and beards; and I was told that they were a particular race of men that could charm serpents. A wooden box, about four feet long and two feet wide, was placed near the door, with a string fastened to a slide at one end of it; this string went through a hole in the door. The two serpent-eaters were dressed in haiks only, and those very small ones. After they had gone through their religious ceremonies most devoutly, they appeared to take an eternal farewell of each other; this done, one of them retired from the room, and shut the door tight after him. The Arab within seemed to be in dreadful distress. I could observe his heart throb, and his bosom heave most violently; and he cried out very loudly, *Allah honakibeer*, three times, which is, as I understood it, "God have mercy on me." (See Plate) The Arab was at the farthest end of the room; at that instant the cage was opened; and a serpent crept out slowly: it was about four feet long, and eight inches in circumference; its colours were the most beautiful in nature, being bright and variegated, with a deep yellow, a purple and a cream colour, black, brown, spotted, &c. As soon as it saw the Arab in the room, its eyes, which were small and green, kindled as with fire; it erected itself in a second, its head two feet high, and darting on the defenceless Arab, seized him between the folds of his haik, just above his right hip-bone, hissing most horribly; the Arab gave a horrid shriek, when another serpent came out of the cage. This last was black, very shining, and appeared to be seven or eight feet long, but not more than two inches in diameter. As soon as it had cleared the cage, it cast its red fiery eyes on its intended victim, thrust out its forked tongue, threw itself into a coil, erected its head, which was in the centre



Arab and Serpent.



Ashanti.

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Of the coil, three feet from the floor, and flattening out the skin above its head and eyes in the form, and nearly of the size of a human heart, and springing like lightning on the Arab, struck its fangs into his neck near the jugular vein, while its tail and body flew round his neck and arms in two or three folds. The Arab set up the most hideous and piteous yelling, foamed and frothed at the mouth, grasping the folds of the serpent which were round his arms with his right hand; and seemed to be in the greatest agony, striving to tear the reptile from around his neck; while with his left he seized hold of it near its head, but could not break its hold. By this time, the other had turned itself round his legs, and had kept biting all the other parts of his body, making apparently deep incisions; the blood issuing from every wound, streamed all over his haik and skin. My blood was chilled in my veins with horror at this sight; and it was with difficulty my legs would support my frame. Notwithstanding the Arab's greatest exertions to tear away the serpents with his hands, they turned themselves still tighter, stopped his breath, and he fell to the floor, where he continued for a moment as in the most inconceivable agony, rolling over, and covering every part of his body with his own blood and froth, until he ceased to move, and appeared to have expired. In his last struggle, he had wounded the black serpent with his teeth, as it was striving, as it were, to force its head into his mouth, which wound seemed to increase its rage. At this instant, I heard the shrill sound of a whistle, and looking towards the door, saw the other Arab applying a call to his mouth: the serpents listened to the music; their fury seemed to forsake them by degrees; they disengaged themselves leisurely from the apparently lifeless carcase, and creeping towards the cage, they soon entered it, and were immediately fastened in. The door of the apartment was now opened, and he without ran to assist his

companion ; he had a phial of blackish liquor in one hand, and an iron chisel in the other. Finding the teeth of his companion set, he thrust in the chisel, forced them open, and then poured a little of the liquor into his mouth ; and holding the lips together, applied his mouth to the dead man's nose, and filled his lungs with air. He next anointed his numerous wounds with a little of the same liquid, and yet no sign of life appeared. I thought he was dead in earnest : his neck and veins were exceedingly swollen ; when his comrade taking up the lifeless trunk in his arms, brought it out into the open air, and continued the operation of blowing for several minutes before a sign of life appeared ; at length he gasped, and after a time recovered, so far as to be able to speak. The swellings in his neck, body, and legs, gradually subsided, as they continued washing the wounds with clear cold water, and a sponge, and applying the black liquor occasionally. A clean haik was wrapped about him ; but his strength seemed so far exhausted, that he could not support himself standing ; so that his companion laid him on the ground by a wall, where he sunk into a sleep. This exhibition lasted for about a quarter of an hour from the time the serpents were let loose until they were called off ; and it was more than an hour from that time before he could speak. I thought I could discover that the poisonous fangs had been pulled out of these serpents' jaws, and mentioned that circumstance to the showman, who said that they had indeed been extracted ; and when I wished to know how swellings on his neck and other parts could be assumed, he assured me, that though their deadly fangs were out, yet that the poisonous quality of their breath and spittle would cause the death of those they attack ; that after a bite from either of these serpents, no man could live longer than fifteen minutes ; and that there was no remedy for any but those who were endowed by the

Almighty with power to charm and manage them; and that he and his associates were of that favoured number. The Moors and Arabs call the thick and beautiful serpent *El Effah*, and the long, black, and heart-headed one, *El Bushfah*. I afterwards saw two engravings of these serpents in Jackson's *Morocco*, which are very correct resemblances; they are said to be very numerous on or about the Atlas mountains, and the border of the desert, where they are caught when young, and where they often attack both men and beasts."

Another animal, peculiar to this quarter of the globe, is the herie, or desert camel, which, according to Mr. Jackson, is in figure similar to the camel of burden, but more elegantly formed. Mounted upon him, the Arab, with his loins, breast, and ears bound round, to prevent the percussion of air proceeding from a quick motion, rapidly traverses upon the back of this abstemious animal, the scorching desert, the fiery atmosphere of which parches and impedes respiration. The motion of the herie is so violent, that it can only be endured by those patient, abstemious, and hardy Arabs, who are accustomed to it. The most inferior kind of herie, are called *talatayee*, a term expressive of their going the distance of three days' journey in one; the next kind is called *sebayee*, a term appropriated to that which goes seven days in one. The *tasavee*, or herie of nine days, is exceeding rare.

The swiftness of this animal is thus described by the Arabs, in their figurative manner, "When thou shalt meet a herie, and say to the rider, 'Salem Alick,' Peace be unto thee; ere he shall have answered, 'Alick Salem,' he shall be far off."

CHAP. XIII.

Mr. Park's Appointment and Departure—Nitta Trees—A Ram sacrificed—The Panorama—Bees—Ta Kooro, or the Traveller's Stone—Theft extraordinary—His Majesty's Birth-day—Tornadoes—Soldiers, how affected—Gold Mines—Mr. Park's departure from his former Route—Horse-flesh, how estimable.

THE first journey performed by Mr. Park having been detailed in a former volume, we have only to premise, that early in the year 1804, Mr. Park received intimation of the design of Government to send out an expedition to Africa; and an offer to him of the sole management of the undertaking. Mr. Park did not hesitate long in accepting; and in reply to inquiries respecting what he understood to be the principal objects of the mission, they were stated to be, *the extension of British Commerce, and the enlargement of our Geographical Knowledge.*

After due consideration, it was at length agreed, that the expedition should consist of Park himself, his brother-in-law, Mr. Alexander Anderson, who was to be next to Park in authority, and Mr. George Scott, who was to act as a draftsman; together with a few boat-builders and artificers. They were not to be accompanied by any troops from England; but were to be joined at Goree by a certain number of soldiers of the African corps stationed there. On the second of January, 1805, Mr. Park received his instructions, and an order to draw upon the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury, to the amount of 5,000*l.* Many delays, however, took place, which, considering the advanced time of the year, was very *disadvantageous*; and was, as the sequel will prove, *the cause of the expedition being overtaken by the*

rainy season. His sailing was actually delayed four months, and did not take place till January 30, 1805. He arrived in the Port Praya Bay in the Cape de Verd Islands, in the beginning of March. From this place the party proceeded to Goree, in high spirits, where they found every soldier ready to join them; Lieutenant Martyn, likewise, offered his services, and was accepted; but no inducement to follow their example could prevail on the negroes. On the 6th of April Mr. Park embarked his soldiers, thirty-five in number; and the expedition assembled at Kayee, a small town on the Gambia, where Park engaged a Mandingo priest, named Isaaco, a travelling merchant, accustomed to long journeys in the interior, as a guide to the caravan. They left Kayee on the 27th of April: the day proved remarkably hot, and some of the asses being unaccustomed to loads, stuck fast in a muddy rice field, about two miles east of Kayee: this occasioned the separation of the party; they, however, met in the evening, and slept comfortably under a tree, and by sun-set, next day, reached Pisa. Here they waited six days for their baggage, employing the interval in purchasing beasts of burden. The mode of marching was then adjusted as follows: the asses and men were all marked and numbered with red paint; a certain number were allotted to each of the six messes into which the soldiers were divided, and the asses were further subdivided amongst the individuals of each mess, so that every man could tell at first sight the ass and load which belonged to him. The asses were also numbered with large figures, to prevent the natives from stealing them, being done in a manner that they could not cut out or clip off, without being detected. Mr. George Scott and one of Isaaco's people generally went in front, Lieutenant Martyn in the centre, and Mr. Anderson and Mr. Park in the rear. From the first, it was obvious, they were ill supplied with beasts of burden.

and this was already felt, they being obliged to leave 5 cwt. of rice behind them at Pisania; besides this, the asses being over-loaded, lay down on the road, or kicked off their bundles; so that, after every exertion, they could only travel to Samee, a distance of about eight miles. Next morning they set out for Jindey, which they reached with much difficulty; here they were obliged to halt a day, or leave some of their loads in the woods. At Jindey very fine blues are dyed with the indigo leaves, by a process somewhat similar to the indigo vat in England. Here they experienced the first prelude to the tornadoes. On leaving this place, they were obliged to hire more asses and drivers, to assist in getting forward the baggage. They crossed the Wallia Creek, near Koolakunda, the asses swimming, and the soldiers, with the assistance of the negroes, wading over with the bundles on their heads. They halted at Tabajang, a deserted village, two days, and purchasing five more asses, covered some of their loads with skins, to prevent their being damaged by the rain. Two of the soldiers were attacked here by dysentery. On the 10th, Mr Park paid off the ass-drivers, having found the expense greater than the benefit. The management of the asses was now committed entirely to the soldiers.

Tatticonda was the next stage, where the son of his former friend, the king of Woolli, coming to meet Mr. Park, he learned that his journey was viewed with great jealousy by the Slattees, and at Sierra Woollis, near Madina, the capital of the kingdom. Here the king refused to accept Mr. Park's presents, without considerable addition being made to them; this he was at length obliged to comply with. When they arrived at Kanipe, the people having heard that they were obliged to purchase water at Madina, to make sure of a similar market, crowded round the wells, drawing the water as fast as it was collected, and the soldiers were obliged to

retire without any, having the laugh very much against them. However, in the evening, they resorted to the following stratagem; one of them having dropped his canteen into the largest well, as if by accident, his companions fastened a rope round him, and lowered him down to the bottom of the well, where he stood and filled all the camp-kettles, to the great mortification of the women, who were totally disappointed in their hopes, of having their heads and necks decked with small amber and beads, by the sale of the water.

At Kussia, one of the soldiers being observed eating some of the fruit of the nitta trees, the chief man of the village came out in a passion, and attempted to take them from him; but finding that impracticable, he drew his knife, and ordered them to put on their loads, and get away from the village. Finding he was only laughed at, he became calm; and when told that they were unacquainted with so strange a restriction, but would not eat any in future, he said, the thing itself was of no great importance, if it had not been done in the sight of the women: adding, that in time of famine, this fruit was all they had to trust to; hence, to prevent the women and children wasting this resource, a *toong* is put upon the nittas; the word *toong* signifies a thing sealed by magic.

Leaving Kussia, being apprehensive of an attack from the Bondou people, on the entrance of the woods, Isaaco sacrificed a black ram, first saying a long prayer over it, he considering this ceremony very essential to their success. Passing a woody country, and arriving at a plain, they observed some hundreds of a species of antelope, of a dark colour, with a white mouth, nearly as large as a bullock; they were called by the natives, *Da qui*. They next halted on the banks of the Gambia, here about one hundred yards wide, and having a regular tide, rising *four inches*. Thirteen crocodiles and three hippo-

tami, were counted at one time, ranged along the banks. The latter feed only during the night, seldom leaving the water by day; they walk on the bottom of the river, shewing only their heads above water. From a hill which the travellers ascended, they had a most enchanting prospect to the westward, the course of the Gambia being marked by a range of dark green trees, which grew on its banks. This they called Prospect Hill; another, on the north side of the road, affords a charming view to the south. The course of the river is from the E.S.E., and the whole country on the south side of it is quite level.

Reaching Faraba at sun-set, whilst unloading the asses, one of the soldiers fell down in an epileptic fit, and soon after expired. Isaaco's negroes began to dig a well, having first lighted a fire to keep off the bees; fortunately, they soon found water sufficient to cook, and even enough to supply the horses and asses during the night; at dawn of day they proceeded, and reached the Neaulico stream, but found it nearly dry. The hollow places, however, abounded with fish, and the negroes took several with their hands, or with wisps of grass, used as a net to frighten the fish into a narrow space. Some negroes were observed in the bed of the river, roasting, or rather smoking, part of a *Da Qui*, killed by a lion on the road. This they suspended on a temporary wooden stage over the smoke and fire, and thus the meat keeps much longer than it would do otherwise.

Traversing an open level plain on the evening of the 17th, they arrived on the bank of the river Nerico, very much fatigued. They saw the excrements of lions about the bushes and cibi trees; these animals deposit it only in certain places, and afterwards, like the cat, claw the ground up to cover it. Nearly the whole of the 17th was employed in transporting all the baggage and asses across this

river. Whilst halting here, the soldiers had an opportunity of washing their clothes. The breadth of this stream is about sixty feet.

Leaving the Nerico, they halted at Jallacotta, for a day, to purchase corn and recruit the asses. On the 20th they arrived at Tendico, or Tambico, but could not procure a bullock, as the inhabitants had few cattle. About half a mile from Tambico is a pretty large town, called Bady, whose chief is titled Faranba. The arrival of the party being announced, the Faranba sent his son with twenty-six men armed with muskets, and a great crowd of people, to receive the presents; when, not being satisfied, he refused them, and the travellers threatened to return to Jallacotta, and find another road. In the mean while the soldiers were desired to have their accoutrements ready for action at a moment's notice. The expedition was actually preparing to return to Jallacotta next morning, when some of Faranba's people seized Isaaco's horse, and carried it off. Isaaco going to inquire concerning it, they seized him, took his double-barrelled gun and sword from him, tied him to a tree, and flogged him, and having put his boy in irons, sent some people back to Tambico, for a horse belonging to an old man travelling with the party, to Dentille; but in this the Faranba's people were opposed, and fairly kicked out of the village by the natives. In the interval, Isaaco's wife and child sat crying under a tree; his negroes were quite dejected, and seemed to consider the journey as quite hopeless. However, Mr. Park, after mature consideration, determined to attack the offenders next morning, and double sentries were stationed, every man sleeping upon his arms. The Dooty of Jallacotta was also made acquainted with the treatment the party had received. Early in the morning, however, Isaaco was liberated and sent back, and soon after, a number of Faranba's people came to propose an amicable

settlement. Mr. Park replied, that, after the treatment his guide had experienced, they could not expect that he should fall into their proposal, for him to go to Bady alone; but, that if he went, he would take twenty or thirty of his people with him. This seemed not so agreeable; and it was at last determined, that the horse, &c. should be brought half way between the two villages, and delivered on receipt of the goods Mr. Park agreed to give them. Mr. Park, accordingly, paid, in all, about a third of what a coffle of negroes would have paid. They still, however, kept Isaaco's gun and sword.

After leaving Tambico, the caravan halted for the night at Jeningalla, near Bufra. Here Mr. Park was presented, by his former landlord, with a large calabash of milk; they remained here during the next day, to purchase corn. At two o'clock in the morning they left Jeningalla, and by eight reached Neuto Koba, the place where Mr. Park formerly crossed the river, not now flowing, but standing in pools, some of which were deep and full of fish. Resuming their journey, at sun-set they reached a small Foula village, much fatigued, having travelled twenty-eight miles. On the 24th of May they halted at Mansafara; this place consists of three towns, contiguous to each other, having near them a large pool of water. Here they purchased corn for the asses, and a bullock for the people. There being much lightning and thunder to the south-east, all the bundles were covered with grass. In the night, the wolves killed one of the best asses, within twenty yards of the spot where Mr. Park and Mr. Anderson slept. On the 25th, they entered the Samakara wilderness, and passed a stream running to the Gambia.

Departing from Sootectabba, as soon as the heat of the day was over, they crossed the first range of hills. One of these, from its extensive prospect,

they named the Panorama. In the evening, they descended into a romantic valley, where they found plenty of water. There were fish in the pools, but they were unable to catch any. They passed the village called Doofros, considered as an excellent place for shooting elephants; the feet-marks and fresh dung of many of them were observed near the water. On the 26th, the party met a coffee, bound for Gambia, to redeem a person who had been seized for a debt, and was to be sold for a slave, if not ransomed in a few months. At Bee Creek, where they next arrived, some of Isaaco's people being in search of honey, unfortunately disturbed an immense swarm of bees, that attacked men and beasts at the same time. Luckily, most of the asses were loose, and galloped up the valley, but the horses and men were very much stung. The fire for cooking being deserted, spread, and caught the bamboos, and the baggage narrowly escaped being burnt. In fact, for half an hour the bees seemed completely to have put an end to the expedition. Here the party lost several asses; Isaaco lost his horse, and many of the people were much stung about the face and hands. After travelling four miles on the 27th, they arrived at Sibikillin; the water that supplies the town is collected into a vast rocky hollow; and there are plenty of fish, but the people would neither take them, nor suffer the strangers to do so, as they said the water would immediately dry up, should that happen. Isaaco's horse was found in the woods. On the next day, descending into a valley, Mr. Park first saw Shea trees, loaded with fruit, but not ripe: the Shea is a kind of vegetable butter.

Badoo, their next stage, is a small town, consisting of about 300 huts; a little north of this there is another town called also Badoo. The *Slatees*, or *governors*, of both places, exact customs to a large

amount from all coffles; and if refused, they unite, and plunder them. Mr. Park made them considerable presents. On the 29th they arrived at Tambacunda, about four miles east, and had a fine view of the Gambia, only four miles distant. Here it is called *Ba Deema*, or *the River which is always a River*; meaning, it never dries. Leaving Tambacunda, they entered the woods, and at a watering-place found some green, dirty water, which nothing but necessity could have forced them to drink. At day-break, proceeding on their journey, a few miles to the east of Tabajee, they passed a round lump of quartz, which the natives called *Ta Kooro*, or the Traveller's stone, as the latter always lift it up and turn it round: hence it is quite smooth, and the iron rock, on which it rests, is worn hollow by the constant motion. During the heat of the day they halted at Mambari, a small village, and in the afternoon, four miles to the east, passed the dry bed of a torrent; but halting at night, where they could find no water, they went to rest supperless. On the first of June, they arrived at Julifunda, containing about 2,000 people; and in the evening Mr. Park sent Isaaco with some amber and scarlet, as a present to the headman, who is termed Mansa Kussan, one of the most avaricious chiefs on the whole road. The next day Mansa Kussan had another present from Mr. Park, consisting of amber, coral, and scarlet, with which he appeared so well pleased, that he not only sent Mr. Park a bullock, but even prayed for his safety; and told him he would do every thing in his power to get him forwards. On Mr. Park's departure for Banserile, Mansa Kussan, notwithstanding all this seeming condescension, endeavoured to extort ten bars of all the different merchandise they had, threatening, otherwise, to detain the party, or plunder them in the woods. The firmness of Mr. Park, who, in his turn, threatened to repel force by force, finally

brought this sable sovereign to a more complying temper. Early in the morning of June 4th, having passed the village Ercella, remarkable for a grove of large Sitta trees, they reached Banserile, about one o'clock, and halting under a tree, it being His Majesty's birth-day, a bullock and a calf was purchased for the soldiers, and the day was kept with as much festivity as circumstances would permit. The next two days were employed in purchasing rice, there being a scarcity of that article to the eastward; still a pound of clean rice could be bought for one bead of amber, value 2d. sterling. On the night of the 6th, they had a squall, with thunder and rain, which lasted till near morning. Old James, one of the carpenters, who was recovering from the dysentery, now became much worse.

Dentilla is famous for its iron, where the flux used for smelting it, are the ashes of the bark of the Kino tree. On the next morning they departed, leaving the old carpenter, and two soldiers to assist him; and shortly after crossed Samako, a stream running towards the Faleme river, so named from the vast herds of elephants that wash themselves in it, during the rains. The asses travelling very ill, this was imputed to their eating of fresh grass. As the party had for some time travelled without a road, and as the natives here were at war, they turned off a little to the south, apprehending the people might attempt to cut off some of the fatigued asses, two of which they were obliged to leave behind them, and load all the horses; and to prevent the men from straggling in the dark, they were obliged to fire muskets very often. Having reached Madina, they crossed the Faleme, which abounds with fish, some of which appeared to weigh sixty pounds. Here the carpenter, apparently dying, was left with a soldier. From hence they proceeded to Satada, one mile east of the river. During the night they had a

heavy tornado, and much thunder and lightning. Next morning, the soldier left with the old carpenter arrived with an account of his death; but by the assistance of the negroes, he was interred in the burying-place at Madina. Satado is walled round, and contains about 300 huts: from hence a guide was procured to Shrono; during the night they stayed at Satado, many of the soldiers' canteens were stolen. Continuing their way, they travelled over large lumps of white quartz: before they reached Shrono they were forced to leave four asses in the woods, and the soldiers were still sickly. From the tornadoes that occurred, they were one night compelled to take up their rest where the water around them was some inches deep.

Here Mr. Park remarked the first tornado had such an instantaneous effect upon the men, "that it proved the beginning of sorrow." "I had proudly flattered myself," added he, "that we should reach the Niger with a very moderate loss. But now the rain had set in, and I trembled to think we were only half way through our journey." The soldiers were now affected with vomiting; others fell asleep, and seemed as if they were half intoxicated. Mr. Park also felt a strong inclination to sleep during a storm, and as soon as it was over, though he used every exertion to keep himself awake, he fell asleep on the ground. The soldiers, at the same time, were sleeping on the wet bundles. Twelve of these men being unable to proceed, Mr. Park made a present to the Dooty, and obtained his permission to go and see the gold mines in the vicinity. Having a woman to accompany him, they came to a meadow of about five or six acres, with several holes, resembling wells, about ten or twelve feet deep; they were lined with clay, and full of rain-water. Between what were called the *mine-pits* and the *wash-pits*, were laid several heaps of sandy gravel, and on the top of each stone, some white, others red, to distinguish each person's property.

Mr. Park observed some siliceous pebbles as large as a pigeon's eggs; pieces of white and reddish quartz, iron-stone, and kellow, and a soft friable yellow stone which crumbled to pieces in the fingers, were the chief minerals that he could distinguish in this gravel. A great portion of sand and yellow earth resembling *till*, were also observed. The woman who accompanied him, having taken about half a pound of gravel, and put it into a little calabash, threw some water out of another upon it, just sufficient to cover the sand about an inch. After she had crumbled all the gravel to pieces, and mixed it with the water, she threw out all the large pebbles, though whilst doing this, she looked carefully on the ground for fear of losing a piece of gold. She then began to sift the whole with sufficient briskness to make a part of the matter fly over the brim of the calabash, whilst with her left hand she threw out of the centre of the vortex a portion of the sand and water, at every shake. The quantity of sand being much diminished, she put in a little fresh water, and held the calabash in an oblique direction, shaking the sand up nearer to the rim of it. Doing this with a quick motion, Mr. Park now observed a quantity of black matter, which the woman said was *gold rust*; and before she had moved the sand one quarter round the calabash, she pointed to a yellow speck, and said "See the gold" (See *Plate*.) On looking attentively, he saw a portion of gold, and took it out; it would have weighed about one grain. The whole of the washing, from the first putting in of the sand till she shewed him the gold, did not exceed *two minutes*. She repeated the operation with about two pounds, and found *twenty-three* particles, some of them very small. In both cases the quantity of *sans-mira*, or gold rust, was, at least, forty times greater than the quantity of gold. She declared that they sometimes found pieces of gold as large as her feet. *Gold is sold here by the minkalli, a sort of bean, the*

fruit of a large tree, and is purchased with advantage in exchange for beads or scarlet.

Early in the morning of the 12th, the party travelled slowly along the bottom of the Konkodoo mountains; these being steep precipices of rock from 80 to 300 feet high. They reached Dindikoo at noon, when a tornado came on so rapidly, that they were forced to carry the bundles into the natives' huts; and this was the first time the coflee had entered a town since leaving Gambia. The gold-pits near this place were worked in the same manner as the others described before. The mountain close to Dindikoo, is cultivated to the very summit, and though the people were but just preparing their fields, the corn on this hill was six inches high. The villages here are built in the most delightful glens of the mountains; and here is an abundance of grass and water at all seasons. Having cattle enough for their own use, the natives sell their superfluous grain to purchase little luxuries. Lieutenant Martyn was now ill with the fever, and as the sick occupied all the asses and spare horses, the party found it very difficult to proceed. The ass also that carried the telescope and several other articles, was lost for the present, though Mr. Anderson and others rode back five miles in search of it; fortunately, just as they were going to leave the village, this ass was brought back by the Dooty, who received a reward. Mr. Park now mounting a load on his horse, drove it before him; but on his way to Fankia, three soldiers fell behind, and were for lying down under every tree they passed. Here Mr. Park departed from his former route, and did not touch on it again till he reached the Niger. He remained at this village one day, in order to give the sick a little rest, knowing there was a steep hill to ascend near it; he found himself very sick, having been feverish *all night*. Here he bought corn for the asses, and plenty of fowls for the men.



Africa.

PARK'S VISIT TO THE GOLDEN MINES.

p. 211.



Leaving Fankia next day, some of the men were slightly delirious. About a mile hence are the Tamboura mountains, called Toombigena, the ascent to which exceeds 300 feet. The asses arrived at the summit with great difficulty, and their number exceeding that of the drivers, a dreadful scene of confusion was exhibited : " the loaded asses were falling over the rocks, sick soldiers unable to walk, and black fellows stealing." In fact, Mr. Park observed, " It was up-hill work with us at this place." However, succeeding at last, about two miles from this hill, they came to the delightful village of Toombin, when collecting the loads, they found the natives had stolen seven pistols, two great coats, one knapsack, &c.

On the 16th Mr. Park received a visit from the old school-master mentioned in his former travels. He had walked all night to overtake Mr. Park ; and after accompanying him some time, he was made quite happy by a present of beads, amber, and a New Testament in Arabic ; they had now reached the village of Serimanna.

The sick increasing in number, they reached Fajemma, where Mr. Park paid 149 bars of beads, amber, &c. besides a soldier's musket, a pair of pistols, a handsome sword, a great coat, and 100 gun-flints. But exclusive of these, the Docty insisted on having four bottles of gunpowder for each ass, which would have distressed them very much, and it was some time before he was satisfied. Leaving this place, Mr. Park found himself very ill, and was unable to attend to the purchase of corn, milk, and fowls ; but he boiled a camp-kettle full of a strong decoction of cinchona every day, which was found highly beneficial to the men. At Fajemma, old Rowe, one of the soldiers, was left behind, with rice for his support. About a mile hence they passed the river, where its course is interrupted by a bed of whinstone rock, which forms

the stream into a number of small cataracts. Here the people carried all the loads over on their heads. About two miles east they came to a narrow deep creek, or a stream of muddy-water, crossed with so much difficulty that some proposed calling it "Vinegar Creek." Two miles hence the party halted at the village of Doogikotta.

The next day William Roberts, one of the carpenters, declared himself unable to travel, and signed a note that he was left with his own consent. They did not proceed till near ten o'clock, as there was great appearance of rain; they travelled on the ascent near a river course, almost the whole day, and had a fine view of Kullallie, a high, detached and square rocky hill, which is quite inaccessible. The natives say there is a lake of water on its summit, and they frequently go round the bottom, and pick up large turtles that have fallen over and killed themselves. About this time one ass and about eighty pounds of balls were stolen. At the village of Gimbra, Mr. Park found every thing wearing a very hostile shape, the men hastily putting on their quivers &c. The cause of this, as usual, was the love of money; for having heard the white men were to pass that way, and were very sickly and unable to defend the immense wealth in their possession, the natives sallied out upon them, pretending the cofle should not proceed till the Dooty gave them leave. Then turning the asses back, one of them even seized the sergeant's horse by the bridle, but dropped it when he saw the sergeant cock his pistol. In the mean while the soldiers having loaded their pieces and fixed their bayonets, the villagers hesitated, and the soldiers recovered the asses, and drove them across the bed of a torrent. Still the Dooty thought of defending his plunder, and when Mr. Park reasoned with him upon his conduct, he pointed to about thirty people armed with bows; on which Mr. Park, laughing, asked

that if he really thought such people could fight, adding, if he had a mind to make the trial, they need only go up and try to take one of the loads. The Dooty, however, thought it best to decline making this experiment, and desired that Mr. Park's people should go on: he notwithstanding received some amber, and was told Mr. Park did not come to make war; but if any person made war on him, he would defend himself to the last. Halting at Sullo, Lieutenant Martyn's horse died, and the people cut him up as if he had been a bullock, and almost came to blows about their shares, so much is horse-flesh esteemed as diet here. The next day they travelled through a country beautiful beyond imagination, with all possible diversities of rocks; sometimes towering up like ruined castle spires, pyramids, &c. One of these places was so much like an abbey, that the travellers halted a little before they could satisfy themselves that the niches, windows, ruined staircases, &c. were all formed of the natural rock.

CHAP XIV.

The Bay Fing River—Mode of smelting Gold—Isaac's Contest with a Crocodile—A village of Thieves—Approach of Wolves—View of the Niger—Lions—Karfa Taura.

WHEN they reached Secoba, the Dooty was so well pleased with his presents, that he proposed going with the party till they had crossed the *Ba Fing*, to prevent the canoe people from imposing upon them. Here remaining a day to refresh the sick, they bought plenty of fowls and milk for their use. Seven miles east of Secoba is the village of Kronkromo, where they pitched their tents by the river-side; the day

was far advanced before they could get the onoes. The asses were made to swim over, one on each side of a canoe, whilst two boys that sat in it held them by the ears. Mr. Park saw the mode of smelting gold here, and Isaaco wanting some gold to be made into a large ring, the smith employed, formed a crucible of common red-clay, and dried it in the sun. Into this he put the gold without any flux or mixture whatever; then placing charcoal under and over it, and blowing the fire with the common bellows, he soon produced such a heat as brought the gold in a state of fusion. He then formed a small furrow in the ground, into which he poured the melted gold; when it was cold he took it up, and heating it again, twisted it by means of two pair of pincers into a sort of screw, and lengthening out the ends, turned them up so as to form a massy and precious ring. One man was drowned here whilst crossing the Ba Fing in a canoe. The natives being all thieves, one of them was soon detected carrying away the bundle that contained all the medicines. The travellers were disturbed all night by the hippopotami, close to the bank, snorting and blowing. The next day they came to the base of a high rocky hill, rising from the level plain like an immense castle, accessible only by one narrow path; this is called Sankuree. Near this was a heap of stones, precisely like what are called *Cairns* in Scotland. Having now to penetrate woods, where there was no pathway, it was necessary to give notice of their line of march by the frequent firing of muskets. Walter, one of the sick, being dead, Mr. Park with his sword, and two soldiers with their bayonets, dug his grave in the desert. The next day was in a great measure spent in seeking after the soldiers that had fallen behind, one of whom was picked up by the natives. To recover a man named Bloore, Mr. Park got three volunteers to go with him; and having got a large

bundle of dry grass, they kept a constant light by burning a handful at a time; this was also done to drive away the lions, there very numerous. When they came to the tree where Bloore had been laid, they saw the marks of his feet, which they traced to the west, along the path-way, till they lost them. They hallooed, set fire to the grass, and returned to the tree, saw no blood, nor the foot-marks of any wild beast; but sensible the search was fruitless, they returned to the tents. An antelope being shot, more than supplied them with meat. In a valley, they saw numbers of monkeys on the rocks, and here Mr. Anderson and Mr. Scott were seized with the fever, and two more of the soldiers soon after; when, to the deep regret of Mr. Park, an old soldier, named M'Millan, became so delirious that he was obliged to be left at the village of Sanjeekotta. At Koeena, a severe tornado having compelled them to put out their watch-fire, during the night they heard a particular kind of growling all round the cattle. This they found proceeded from young lions, but being fired at, no harm occurred, excepting that two of them followed the asses so close to the tents, that a sentinel cut at one of them with his sword.

Halting next day at Koombandi, they heard of the death of the soldier M'Millan; and a seaman, William Squirrel, being unable to sit upon his beast, was left in the wood with a loaded pistol, and some cartridges in the crown of his hat. Fonilla, their next stage, is a small walled village, on the banks of the Wonda. Isaaco being very active in compelling the asses to cross, and in pushing the canoe along, a crocodile rose next to him, and seizing him by the left thigh, pulled him under water. With wonderful presence of mind he felt the head of the animal, and thrust his finger into its eye, on which it quitted its hold, whilst Isaaco was endeavouring to reach the opposite shore, and calling out for a knife. But the

crocodile returned and seized him by the other thigh, and again pulled him under water. Isaaco again having recourse to the same expedient in thrusting his fingers into its eyes, it fortunately quitted him, and, when it rose, flounced about on the surface of the water some time, and then swam down the middle of the stream. The wounds Isaaco received on this occasion, for several days appeared rather alarming. At this period, Mr. Park was so ill, that he could not stand erect without feeling a disposition to faint; the sailor left in the woods came up quite naked, having been stripped in the night by the natives; his fever, however, was much abated. A day or two after this, all the whole company being sick, or in a state of great debility, one excepted, Mr. Park bought all the milk he could get, and boiled a camp-kettle full of bark, which had the expected effect in a great measure upon several of the invalids. From Kin-yaco they proceeded to Sabococera; hence to Keme-noon, a walled and fortified town: the Ba Lee runs here with great velocity, and forms several small cataracts. Keminoon, or Mansa Numma, as he is called, extorted a silver-mounted gun before he would accept of a very considerable present, and the people here were thieves, to a man: nor had the party ever been at a place where so much theft and impudence prevailed; and this the travellers experienced upon the route after they had left the town, not being able to get rid of the robbers for several days. Among these depredators were two of the royal family, as they were there called.

Arriving on the banks of the Woolima, their first care was to fell a tree, which by its fall would reach across the stream and form a bridge; but after cutting down four trees, and fatiguing themselves till sun-set, they gave it up. Mr. Park and the carpenters afterwards made a raft; but when the logs were cut into lengths, there were not healthy people enough to

carry them to the water-side ; they were compelled to have recourse entirely to the negro bridge, which being completed, they hired negroes to carry over all the baggage, and to make the asses swim across the stream.

On the other side of this river, Mr. Scott and Mr. Martyn, being unable to walk, Mr. Park found them lying down by the side of the path ; but his horse being loaded, and himself, as usual, walking on foot, and driving an ass, he could give them no assistance ; but on his arriving at Maheene, he sent back two of Isaaco's people to bring them forward. Here, however, the report of the weakness of the travellers had preceded them, and some of the natives had gone so far as to say that the coffee was a *dummula-fong* ; a thing sent to be eaten, or fair game for any one ; they accordingly stole five asses, but, to their surprise, they found themselves compelled to return three of the asses next morning, being afraid of the consequences of their king becoming acquainted with their conduct.

Bangasse, the next town, is fortified in the same manner as Maniakorro, but is four times as large. Here a present from Serenummo the king, of a fine bullock, and two very large calabashes of sweet milk, accompanied by the other two asses that had been stolen, were highly acceptable. In return for this, Mr. Park sent the king a considerable present by the hands of Isaaco. In the interview that afterwards took place between the king and Mr. Park, the latter told him he did not come to take any man's trade or money, nor to make money, but to spend it ; and for the truth of these assertions, he could appeal to every person that knew him or had travelled with him. He further added, it was his intention at present to travel peaceably through his kingdom into Bambarra ; and that, as a mark of regard for his name and character, he had brought a few articles, which the guide

would present to him. Here Isaaco spread out the articles, consisting of beads, looking-glasses, a musket, sword, pistols, balls, flints, &c. The king looked at them with that sort of indifference which Mr. Park observes an African always affects towards things he has never seen before. However much he may admire them, he must never appear in the least surprised. He told Mr. Park he should have permission to pass; and he would make his son take care of them till they arrived at Sego: Mr. Park informed him he was anxious to get to Bambarra, as the people were sickly.

During their stay here, the party were plentifully supplied with milk, in kopes of recruiting the men's strength before they proceeded to the Niger; but they still continued sick and spiritless. One man, who was partly given over, was removed to the shade of a tree, at a small distance from the tents, where being asleep, he was very near being torn to pieces by the wolves. They were smelling at his feet when he awakened, and then set up such a horrid howl, that, sick as he was, he started up, and was at the tents before the sentry could reach the spot where he had slept. This man, however, was unable to travel, and, shortly after leaving the town next day, three more of the soldiers lay down under a tree, and refused to proceed. Mr. P. was very sick; but the energy of his mind certainly shines forth, when he observes: "Came to an eminence, from which I had a view of some very distant mountains. The certainty that the Niger washes the southern base of these mountains made me forget my fever; and I thought of nothing all the way but how to climb over their blue summits!"

The next night they were again disturbed by a lion, who came so close that the sentry fired at him. Mr. P. having heard that some of the sick soldiers had been compelled to retrograde, wrote as follows.

"Dear Soldiers,—I am sorry to learn that you have returned to Bangasse. I have sent, in charge of the bearer of this, three complete strings of amber, one of which will produce rice for forty days; the second will purchase milk or fowls for the same time; and the third will buy provisions for you on the road till you arrive at the Niger. Yours, M. PARK."

When Mr. Park was obliged to leave William Allen sick behind, he observes, with true national feeling; "I regretted much leaving this man; he had naturally a cheerful disposition, and he used often to beguile the watches of the night with the songs of our dear native land."

Five miles from Nummosoolo, it was remarked that the whole of the St. Jago asses had either died or been abandoned on the road; and it now appeared beyond a doubt that the expedition was not at first well supplied with beasts of burden to meet the exigencies of the journey, or to convey their immense baggage. On the first of August they passed a stream so deep, that all the bundles were carried over on men's heads. When they reached Balanding, they had only time to pitch the tent before the rain came on, spoiled the cooking, and compelled Messrs. Park, Anderson, Scott, and Martyn, to go to rest without having tasted any thing during the day. This was nearly the case again at Koolihori, where the rain continued all night, and prevented the watch fire from burning; and owing to this, one of the asses was killed by the wolves only a few feet distant from a bush under which one of the men was sleeping. The whole route from Bangasse was marked with ruined towns and villages. The scarcity of cattle had excited the avidity of the people of Koolihori for animal food to such a degree, that they readily devoured what the wolves had left of the ass. A soldier that was missing here was also supposed to have been killed by the wolves in the night, these ani-

mals howling round them perpetually. The Ba Wooli at Balandoo appeared very deep, and flowed at the rate of four miles an hour; the rapidity of this stream proved another impediment to its being passed by the asses.

Rice being now found short, there was no alternative but to proceed without delay to Bambarra, about fourteen miles distant. Mr. Anderson now became exceedingly unwell, and not one of the Europeans being able to lift a load, Isaaco made his negroes load all the beasts. In the mean while, Mr. Park had the greatest difficulty in bringing Mr. Anderson forward, having repeatedly to lift him off his horse and lay him in the shade. During one of the latest attempts to get Mr. Anderson on, Mr. Park heard a noise very much like the barking of a large mastiff, but was not a little alarmed to see three lions coming bounding over the grass towards them, all abreast of each other. Determined not to allow them to come too near, fearing his piece might miss fire, Mr. Park walked forwards to meet them, and, fired at the middlemost as soon as he came within a long shot. Mr. Park thought he did not hit him; but they all stopped, looked at each other, and after looking back at him, marched slowly off. Hearing one of them soon after, Mr. Park imagined they might be following them till dark, he therefore got Mr. Anderson's call, and making as loud a noise with it as possible, he was happily relieved from these unwelcome attendants. Just at dark, Mr. Park and his companions lost themselves in a deep valley, full of horrid gullies, and were compelled to remain in this situation till morning. Their next state was Koomikomi, where they remained two days to see the issue of Mr. Anderson's fever. Doombilla, the next place, distant sixteen miles, they reached in four hours; and here Mr. Park met his old friend Karfa Taura, who assisted him with his slaves in proceeding to Sego. Mr.

Scott did not come up, but was left at Kaomkooma. Having reached the summit of a ridge of mountains, Mr. Park went on a little before, and once more saw the Niger rolling its immense streams along the plain. Though thus cheered by the sight of this river, yet he adds, "When I reflect that three-fourths of the soldiers have died on their march, and that, in addition to our weakly state, we have no carpenter to build the boats in which we mean to prosecute our discoveries, the prospect appears somewhat gloomy." He, however, justly exulted in having conducted a party of Europeans, with immense baggage, through an extent of more than five hundred miles, on the most friendly terms with the natives; and drew the inference, that if the journey be performed in the dry season, it might be completed with a loss at most of four men out of fifty.

Having arrived at Bambakoo, they found that out of thirty-four soldiers and four carpenters, who left the Gambia, only six soldiers and one carpenter had reached the Niger. A bullock, a present from the dooty, here had its bowels torn out in the day-time by the wolves, whilst it was fastened to a tent; these animals were the largest and most ferocious they had ever seen. The river being navigable over the rapids, and about two miles wide, the canoe-men avoided these by paddling down one of the branches near; but even in this manner the velocity affected their breath. Upon an island in the middle they saw an elephant of a large size, and three hippopotami close to another island, and the canoe-men were afraid they would follow and upset them. Next morning they arrived at Maraboo; and in the evening Mr. Martyn came up with almost all the people except two, who reached them next day.

The dooty of Maraboo is so superstitious, that all the time the Europeans remained there he kept himself in his hut, conceiving that if he saw a white

man he should never prosper. He, however, sent them a small black bullock, which Isaaco would not allow them to kill, it being of a jet-black colour.

The next day, the 25th, Mr. Park paid Isaaco goods to the value of two prime slaves, and promised him all the horses and asses for his trouble, as soon as the palaver at Sego should be adjusted. The next day he took out the things designed for Mansong, and wishing to put a stop to the malicious reports of the Moors and Mahomedans, he sent Isaaco forward to Sego with all the articles, except four double-barrelled guns silver-mounted, and two kegs of gunpowder, which he was to promise should be added as soon as he heard accounts that Mansong would befriend them.

Mr. Park having been subject to attacks of the dysentery ever since his arrival at Maraboo, and finding his strength fail very fast, determined to charge himself with mercury, and accordingly took calomel till it affected his mouth to such a degree that he could neither speak or sleep for six days. This put a stop to the disorder that had proved fatal to so many of the soldiers. As soon as he recovered, he set about exchanging some amber and coral for cowries, which are the current money of Bambara, and purchased about twenty thousand.

There is no wood proper for boat-building in this neighbourhood. Many of the Bambara canoes are made of mahogany.

In a few days all apprehensions of the failure of Isaaco's mission to Sego were removed by the arrival of Bookari, Mansong's singing-man, bringing with him six canoes to convey the party and their baggage to Sego. He thought highly of the presents, and wished the travellers to come to Sego before he received them.

Mansong had uniformly declared he would allow the coffee to pass, but never once expressed a wish

to see any of the people; on the contrary, whenever Isaaco spoke about any of the events of their journey, he began to make squares and triangles in the sand before him with his finger; and Isaaco thought he was rather afraid of them.

On the evening of the 22d, Modibinne and four of Mansong's friends arrived in a canoe. They told Mr. Park they had come by Mansong's orders to hear from his own mouth, what had brought him into Bambarra. They presented him with a very fat and milk-white bullock, and said they would visit him for his answer in the morning. They came accordingly, and Mr. Park stated to them, in a manly candid manner, the purport of his journey. He began by adverting to the kindness of Mansong to him on his former mission to that country, and the gratitude of the English king and nation towards him for that generosity towards a stranger. The remainder of his masterly address we must give in his own words, as it proves he was no less fitted for the task of negotiating with the Africans, than cool and courageous in conducting his party through their territory. After hearing, in reply to the first part of his address, that they were all his friends, he proceeds: "You all know that the white people are a trading people; and that all the articles of value which the Moors and the people of Jinnie bring to Sego, are made by us. If you speak of a *good gun*; who made it? *the white people*. If you speak of a good pistol or sword, or piece of scarlet or baft, or beads or gunpowder; who made them? *the white people*,—we sell them to the Moors; the Moors bring them to Tombuctoo, where they sell them at a *higher rate*. The people of Tombuctoo sell them to the people of Jinnie at a still higher price; and the people of Jinnie sell them to you. Now the king of the white people wishes to find out a way by which we *may bring our own merchandise to you, and sell*

every thing at a much cheaper rate than you now have them. For this purpose, if Mansong will permit me to pass, I propose sailing down the Joliba to the place where it mixes with the salt water; and, if I find no rocks or danger in the way, the white men's small vessels will come up and trade at Sego, if Mansong wishes it. What I have now spoken, I hope and trust you will not mention to any person except Mansong and his son; for if the Moors hear of it, I shall certainly be murdered before I reach the salt water."

Modibinne answered, that their journey was a good one, and wished God to prosper them in it, adding, that he would carry their words to Mansong in the afternoon, and bring his answer. He expressed himself highly pleased with the things allotted for Mansong, which were shewed him by Isaaco. Modibinne, and each of the grandees, received a present of scarlet cloth, and now said that they had seen what was laid out for Mansong and his son, and that the present was great, and worthy of Mansong: but added, that having heard so many reports concerning their baggage, that Mansong wished them to examine it. When they had inspected the loads, he said he had seen nothing *bad*, and nothing but what was necessary for purchasing provisions. They then departed, but without accepting Mansong's present till the 29th, when Modibinne returned with it, literally as follows: "Mansong says he will protect you; that a road is open for you every where, as far as his hand (power) extends. If you wish to go to the east, no man shall harm you from Sego till you pass Tombuctoo. If you wish to go to the west, you may travel through Fooladoo and Manding, through Kasson and Bondou; the name of Manson's stranger will be a sufficient protection for you. If you wish to build your boats at Samee or Sego, at Sansanding or Jinnie, name the town, and Mansong will

convey you thither." He concluded by observing, that Mansong wished to buy *four blunderbusses, three swords, a fiddle* which belonged to Mr. Scott, and some *Birmingham bead necklaces*, which pleased him above every thing. He sent them a bullock, and his son another, with a fine sheep. Mr. Park replied that Mansong's friendship was of more value than the articles he had mentioned, and that he would be happy if Mansong would accept them as a farther proof of his esteem.

Mr. Park made choice of Sansanding for fitting out the canoe, and sent down the bullocks by land. On the 26th they departed from Samee. The canoes were not covered with mats; and there being no wind, the sun became insufferably hot. Mr. Park was affected with a violent headach, to such a degree as to make him almost delirious; he observes, "There was *sensible* heat, sufficient to have roasted a sirloin."

Isaaco had gone to inform Mansong of their passing Segosee Korroo; they waited about an hour for him, and when he returned, he made a kind of shade over the canoe, with four sticks, and a couple of cloaks. In the evening Mr. Park found himself more collected, and less feverish. At sunset they rowed towards the north shore of the river, and slept on a bank covered with verdure.

CHAP. XV.

Arrival of Mr. Park at Sansanding—Market and Merchandise—Death of Messrs. Scott and Anderson—Conclusion of Mr. Park's Journal—Death of Mr. Park—A singular Rock—Tombuctoo—Colonel Fitz-Clarence—Mr. Bowdich.

HAVING reached Sansanding at ten o'clock next day, such crowds came to the shore, that they could not land the baggage, till the people were beaten away with sticks by Kootie Mammadie's orders, on whose premises they were accommodated with huts for themselves and baggage. During the night of October the 2nd, they lost two privates, one of the fever, the other of the dysentery.

On the 4th Mansong sent two broken gunlocks, and a large pewter plate with a hole in the bottom, to be repaired; and it was with difficulty that the messenger could be persuaded that none of them knew any thing of such occupations.

On the 6th, Mansong's eldest son sent one canoe as a present, and requested to buy a blunderbuss and three swords, with some blue and yellow broad cloth.

Sansanding is said to contain 11,000 inhabitants. It has no public buildings except the mosques, two of which, though built with mud, are by no means inelegant. The market-place is a large square, and the different articles of merchandise are exposed to sale on stalls covered with mats, to shade them from the sun. The stalls contained beads, indigo, Housa and Jinnie cloth, &c. In the houses fronting the square is sold scarlet, amber, silks from Morocco, and tobacco. Adjoining to this is the salt-market; a large butcher's stall or shade is in the centre of the square, and as good and fat meat sold every day as any in England. The beer-market is at a little dis-

tance, under two large trees ; and there are often exposed for sale from eighty to one hundred calabashes of beer, each containing about two gallons. Near the beer-market, is the place where red and yellow leather is sold.

Besides these market-places, there is a very large space appropriated for the great market every Tuesday. On this day there are astonishing crowds of people come from the country to purchase articles in wholesale, and retail them in the different villages.

As Mansong delayed sending the canoes he had promised longer than Mr. Park expected, in order to be provided with shells to purchase two of these vessels, he opened a shop in great style, and exhibited a choice assortment of European articles to be sold in wholesale or retail. He had a great run, which drew on him the envy of the Jinnie people, the Moors and the merchants here, who joined with those at Sego, and in the presence of Modibinne, who repeatedly, says Mr. Park, offered to give Mansong a quantity of merchandise of greater value than all the presents I had made him, if he would seize the baggage, and either kill the party, or send them back again out of Bambara. Alleging, that it was Mr. Park's object to kill Mansong and his sons by means of charms, that the white people might come and seize on the country. Mansong, much to his honour, rejected the proposal, though it was seconded by two-thirds of the people of Sego, and almost all Sansanding. Here, as Mr. Park received no accounts whatever of Mr. Scott, he despatched to Koomi-koomi, desiring him to bring Mr. Scott, or some account of him. He returned in four days, saying that Mr. Scott was dead. He brought his horse to Bambakoo.

When Modibinne inquired of Isaaco what sort of a return of presents would be most agreeable, Isaaco, being instructed before, said he believed two large canoes ; and on the 16th, Modibinne arrived with a

canoe from Mansong. When Mr. Park saw it, he objected to one half of it, which was quite rotten; another half was brought from Sego, but it would not fit the half already sent. Isaaco was, therefore, again sent to Sego; and as Mansong had requested Mr. Park to sell him any spare arms he might have, he sent two blunderbusses, two fowling-pieces, two pair of pistols, and five unserviceable muskets; requesting in return, that Mansong would either send a proper canoe, or permit him to purchase one to pursue his journey. Isaaco returned on the 20th with a large canoe; but half of it was very much decayed and patched. Mr. Park then set about joining the best half to the half formerly sent; and with the assistance of Bolton, a private, took out all the rotten pieces, and repaired all the holes, and sewed places; and with eighteen days' hard labour, changed the Bambara canoe into *His Majesty's schooner Joliba*; the length forty feet, the breadth six feet; being flat-bottomed, this draws only one foot water when loaded. On the 28th of October, at a quarter past five o'clock in the morning, Mr. Anderson died. Mr. Park observes, no event which took place during the journey ever threw the smallest gloom over his mind, till he laid Mr. Anderson in his grave. He then felt as if left a second time lonely and friendless amidst the wilds of Africa. On the 15th of November, Isaaco told Mr. Park that Mansong was anxious that he should depart as soon as possible, before the Moors to the east had intimation of his coming. Mr. Park bought bullocks' hides to form an awning, to secure them from the Surka or Soorka and Mahinga, who inhabit the north bank of the river betwixt Jinnie and Tombuctoo. And on the 16th concluded his journal, which was delivered to Isaaco.

The journal was received safe; but no accounts of a subsequent date arriving, and many reports being circulated respecting his death, the inquiry was at

length taken up by Government; and as no person appeared so proper to be employed as Isaaco, he was persuaded to undertake a journey to ascertain the fate of Mr. Park. Accordingly, on the 7th of January, 1810, he left Senegal, and after many delays and interruptions, he arrived at Sansanding in the latter end of September. Here he found Amadi Fatouma, the very guide he had recommended to Mr. Park. On seeing Isaaco, and hearing him mention Mr. Park, Amadi began to weep, and his first words were, "They are all dead." On Isaaco telling him that he had come to know the truth from his own mouth, how they died, he replied, that they were lost for ever, and it was useless to make any further inquiry after them; for to look after what was irrecoverably lost, was losing time to no purpose. However Isaaco appointed the next day, the 4th of October, to know what passed to his knowledge concerning Mr. Park, when he received the following relation: Mr. Park, Mr. Martin, three other white men, three slaves, and Amadi Fatoumi as guide and interpreter, went in two days to Selle or Silla, where Mr. Park ended his first voyage. In passing the lake Sibby or Dibbie, three canoes followed them, armed with pikes, lances, bows and arrows, &c. but no fire-arms; they were ordered to go back, but to no effect, and they were obliged to be repulsed by force. On passing, they were again attacked by three canoes, and at Gouroumo by seven more; these were in like manner beat off. They lost one white man by sickness; they were now reduced to eight hands; each having fifteen muskets always in order, and ready for action. After passing the residence of King Gotoijege they were pursued by sixty canoes, which they repulsed, and killed a great number of men. They now proceeded a long way, and met a very strong army on one side of the river, composed of the Poule nation. They passed on the *other side*, and went on without hostilities: but in

going along they struck on the rocks. An hippopotamus rose so close as nearly to upset the canoe; they fired, and drove him away. After a great deal of trouble they got off the canoe. They came to an anchor before Kaffo, and passed the day there. They had in the canoe, before leaving Sansanding, a very large stock of provisions, salted and fresh of all kinds; which enabled them to go along without stopping at any place, for fear of accident. The canoe was large enough to contain with ease one hundred and twenty people.

In the evening they started from Kaffo, and passed an island on which were a great number of hippopotami; on the approach of the canoe, they all went into the water in such confusion as almost to upset the canoe. In the morning three canoes from Kaffo came after them, which they beat off. They soon after came to, near a small island, and Amadi Fatouma was sent on shore to buy some milk. When he landed, he saw two canoes go on board, to sell fresh provisions, such as fowls, rice, &c. One of the natives seized Amadi, wanted to kill him, declaring he was his prisoner. Mr. Park seeing what was passing on shore, stopped the two canoes, telling the people belonging to them, that if they should kill or keep Amadi prisoner on shore, he would kill them, and carry their canoes away with him. Those on shore suspecting Mr. Park's intention, sent Amadi off in another canoe, when those on board were released, some provisions purchased of them, and had some presents made to them. A short time after, twenty canoes came after them from the same place; on coming near, they hailed and said, "Amadi Fatouma, how can you pass through our country without giving us any thing?" When this was explained to Mr. Park, he gave them a few grains of amber and some trinkets, and they went back peaceably.

They now passed a shallow and a difficult pass,

where they met with but slight interruption. They went on to Gourmon, where Mr. Park sent Amadi on shore with forty thousand cowries, to purchase provisions. He bought rice, onions, fowls, milk, &c. and departed late in the evening. The chief of the village sent a canoe after them, to let them know of a large army encamped on the top of a high mountain, and that they had better return, or be on their guard. They immediately came to an anchor, and spent there the rest of the day and all the night. They started in the morning, and on passing the mountain saw the army, composed of Moors, with horses and camels; but without any fire-arms. They did not interrupt the canoe, which passed on quietly, and entered the country of Haoussa, and came to an anchor. Mr. Park now employed two days in acquiring the names of the necessaries of life, &c. in the language of the countries through which he was to pass. During the voyage, Amadi was the only person who had been on shore. He proceeded with them to Yaour, where he was sent on shore with presents to the chief, &c. The chief gave him in return a bullock, a sheep, three jars of honey, and four men's loads of rice. Mr. Park now gave Amadi seven thousand cowries, and ordered him to buy provisions, which he did. Mr. Park told him to go also to the chief, and give him five silver rings, some powder and flints, and tell him those presents were given for the king (who staid a few hundred yards from the river) by the white men, who were taking leave of him before they went away. After the chief received these things, he inquired if the white men intended to come back. Mr. Park being informed of this inquiry, replied he could not return any more. These words, it is inferred, occasioned his death; as the certainty of his not returning induced the chief to withhold the presents from the king.

Here Amadi quitted Mr. Park, and, according to

his account, received no small share of ill-treatment. With respect to the final fate of Mr. Park, he adds, that the next morning early, the king sent an army to a village called Boussa, near the river-side. There is before this village, a rock across the whole breadth of the river. One part of the rock is very high ; there is a large opening in that rock, in the form of a door, which is the only passage for the water to pass through : the tide current is here very strong. The army went and took possession of the top of this opening. Mr. Park came there after the army had posted itself ; he, however, attempted to pass. The people began to attack him, throwing lances, pikes, arrows, and stones. Mr. Park defended himself for a long time ; two of his slaves at the stern of the canoe were killed. They threw every thing they had in the canoe into the river, and kept firing, but being overcome by numbers and fatigue, and unable to keep up the canoe against the current, and no probability of escaping, Mr. Park took hold of one of the white men, and jumped into the water. Martin did the same ; and they were drowned in the stream in attempting to escape. The only slave remaining in the boat, seeing the natives persist in throwing weapons at the canoe, stood up and said, " Stop throwing now, you see nobody in the canoe but myself. Take me and the canoe, but do not kill me." They took possession of the canoe and the man, and carried them to the king. Amadi adds, that he was kept in irons three months, and on his release learnt the particulars of Mr. Park's death from the slave, who said, nothing remained in the canoe but himself and a sword-belt, which the king had taken, and made a girth for his horse with it. Isaaco sent a Poule to Yaour, who brought the belt, and said that he had bribed a young slave girl belonging to the king, who had stolen it from him ; and he said nothing else was to be found which had belonged to Mr. Park or his companions.

Isaaco observes, that he had all the particulars from Amadi on oath, whom he knew to be a good, honest, and upright man ; this, and the dangers he should run, induced him to return to Senegal after obtaining the belt.

Notwithstanding Isaaco's good opinion of Amadi, his relation is not altogether worthy of credit ; it is by no means clear and accurate. This, added to his obvious reluctance to speak on the subject at his first meeting with Isaaco, must throw a doubtful character on his relation. Be this as it may, there can be little reason to suppose but that the unfortunate travellers perished on the river ; and though they might not die just at the time or place, and in the manner, specified by Amadi, yet their death is not the less probable. Amadi either knew himself some way implicated in the death of Park, which seems highly probable from his remorse on seeing Isaaco ; or knowing nothing of the matter, he feared to miss a reward by acknowledging his ignorance.

To this part of the narrative, it is worth while to attach the account of Tombuctoo, and the death of Park, as related to Lieutenant-Colonel Fitz-Clarence, on his return from India to England, by way of Egypt, in the year 1818.—Embarking from Alexandria, he had in the same vessel for fellow travellers, Muly Ali and Muly Omar, both sons of the Emperor of Morocco, who had been on a pilgrimage to Mecca, under the charge of Hadjee Talub Ben Jelow, a rich merchant, who was of a mild disposition, and, being communicative, imparted some very interesting particulars relative to the celebrated city of Tombuctoo or Timbuctoo, where he had been several times, and laughed at the English calling it Tombuctoo, asserting that the name is Timbuctoo, and that it is situated two hours' journey from the great river. He says the king is a negro, and resides at Kabra, which is the port of Timbuctoo, *being upon the Niger*. He describes the houses as

low and mean ; says there are no shops, but a few stalls under leathern tents, for selling the necessaries of life. The dwellings are built with clay and loose stones ; some of them, however, have a second story, to which they ascend by stairs. He confirms the evidence of Hadjee Benata, who asserts that " there are Mahometans there," and some of no " religion at all," by saying that there are mosques at Timbuctoo, and that all religions are there tolerated. He asserts that the majority of the inhabitants are negroes ; the cow which the natives ride on has a hump on its shoulder, and is rather larger than the Indian cow. In 1807 the king's name was Boobkier, that of the queen Fatima : the dress of the latter was said to be a short blue petticoat, with a stripe of lace. The Hadjee stated, that the Niger runs towards the east, or, as he says, towards Mecca. This river he always called the Nil, though another person on board called it the Dan ; and this latter person also stated that it ran to the east. The Niger is reported to be a quarter of a mile broad at Kabra, but in the summer it is much more considerable. Hadjee Talub has understood that the river runs into a large lake in the interior, called Behur Soldam, and that from this the Nile of Egypt takes its rise, so that he supposes it the same river ; he states that half way to Cairo, there are great falls and cataracts, which prevent boats from passing : much confidence, however, cannot be placed in this account of the course of the Nile. The boats on the Niger are flat-bottomed, without sails, and are constructed without nails. They are formed of the bark of trees, and some of them are twenty-eight feet long. Hadjee also added, that crocodiles abound in the river, that are very voracious, and are taken by being harpooned with an instrument of five prongs. There are vast quantities of fish in the Niger, which, from their colour and size, are conjectured to be salmon. Timbuctoo is stated to be three times the

size of Alexandria, and to contain a population of 60,000 souls; their character is good and friendly. Cocoa-nuts and dates are said to be abundant, as are water-melons, but there being no gardens, all grow wild. The woods in the neighbourhood are described as full of game, and lions and other beasts of prey are often seen near the town. Hares and rabbits abound, and their only dog is a greyhound, trained to catch these animals. Provisions of every kind abound at Timbuctoo, and the natives eat elephant's flesh, which Hadjee says is palatable, tasting like beef, though quite white. These animals are said to exist in immense herds in the vicinity; being very ferocious, they will attack single persons; this obliges those who ride alone to carry a horn to frighten them away. The elephants are hunted either by driving them into a river, when men swim to them, get on their backs, and cut and destroy them; or by driving them into pits, and there killing them; some few are tamed. A commerce carried on between Fez and Timbuctoo, by caravans. Articles that sell best at Timbuctoo are salt, tobacco, European scarlet-cloth, and English printed cottons, besides pistols and guns; these articles are exchanged for large elephants' teeth, slaves, and very fine and pure gold in bags, containing each an ounce, valued at fifteen dollars.

During the various conversations that Lieutenant-Colonel Fitz-Clarence had with Hadjee Talub, the latter mentioned that when at Timbuctoo in 1807, he heard of two white men, who came from the sea, having been near that city the year before he arrived at Timbuctoo: he understood that these white men sold beads, having no money to purchase grain: he added that they went down the Nile, to the eastward, and were reported to have died of the climate. This is justly, no doubt, concluded to mean Mr. Park and Lieutenant Martin, who might have arrived there about that period. However, the pacific conduct

mentioned by Hadjee Talub, disagrees with the journal of Amadi Fatouma, who speaks of hostility taking place on the river; and the mode of Mr. Park's death is also represented differently. Lieutenant-Colonel Fitz-Clarence seized this opportunity of ascertaining if it was practicable for a Frank to pass from Fez to Timbuctoo, and if the Emperor of Morocco might be expected to assist the views of any Englishmen in reaching that city. To these inquiries the Hadjee replied in the affirmative, with the greatest confidence. As to any danger with the caravan, he expressed a conviction that there was not the slightest. When further asked, whether, if duly rewarded, he would accompany Mr. Fitz-Clarence to Timbuctoo, he assented with the utmost readiness; and added, that they could reach that city in forty-seven days from Fez, on horseback, and that he would forfeit his life if he did not bring the Lieutenant-Colonel safe back again.

Mr. Bowdich also, whilst upon his mission to Ashantee, learned from some of the Moorish merchants who had formerly been at Haoussa, that during their residence there, a white man was seen going down the Niger, near that capital, in a large canoe, in which all the rest were blacks. This circumstance being reported to the king, he immediately despatched some of his people to advise him to return, and to inform him that if he ventured to proceed much further, he would be destroyed by the cataracts of the river. The white man, however, persisted in his voyage, mistaking apparently the good intentions of those sent by the king to warn him of his danger. A large party was then despatched, with orders to seize and bring him to Haoussa, which they effected after some opposition; here he was detained by the king for the space of two years, at the end of which he took a fever and died. These Moors declared they had themselves seen this white man at Haoussa. This is unquestionably a more probable account of the fate of

ark than that given on the supposed authority of Madi Fatouma; and as Moors do not destroy pearls, it is possible, that by offering a considerable sum of money, those of this unfortunate traveller may be recovered, through the channel of some of the Moors at Comassie.

Thus, though Mr. Park's second mission was not productive of new geographical discoveries, Sansandig being considerably short of Silla, which he had reached on his first journey, it has plainly demonstrated, that with common prudence any quantity of merchandise may be transported from the Gambia to the Niger, without any danger of being robbed by the natives. Park's unfortunate failure seems owing to the improper season of travelling, and other unforeseen circumstances; therefore, this ought not to damp the ardour of prosecuting further discoveries, and future endeavours to settle this interesting question, *Where is the termination of the Niger?*"

CHAP. XVI.

The Congo Expedition arrive off the Zaire—Lombeé—A singular Discovery—Visit of Ceremony—Funerals—Dress of the Natives—Yellala or Cataracts—Course of the Zaire—Climate—Animals—Birds—Fishes—Villages—Cultivation—Society—Mode of Salutation—Language—Chenoos—Religion—Superstition—Wine—Cotton—Mr. Maxwell's Survey of the Zaire.

THE failure of the expedition under Park in not reaching the termination of the Niger, whilst his discoveries may be said to have all but demonstrated that the river and the Nile to be the same, determined the subsequent attempt of exploring the Congo from its mouth in the ocean, in the hopes of reaching the point where Park unfortunately lost his life; or at least

of finding the celebrated city of Timbuctoo. Accordingly, in February 1816, Captain Tuckey left the river Thames on board a vessel, built for the purpose, named the Congo, having with him a transport to carry out provisions for his company, and a large assortment of presents for the native chiefs. With this expedition, was the following gentleman: Lieutenant Hawkey, Mr. Fitzmaurice, master, Mr. Hodder, and Mr. Beecroft, master's mate, Mr. Eyre, purser, Mr. M'Kerrow, assistant-surgeon, Dr. Smith, botanist, Mr. Cranch, collector of objects of natural history, Mr. Tudor, anatomist, Mr. Galway, a volunteer, and Mr. Lockhart, from his Majesty's gardens at Kew. Of these, only Messrs. M'Kerrow, Fitzmaurice, Hodder, and Lockhart, survived the excessive fatigues to which the party were subjected on the high ground which skirts the river. About the end of June, the little squadron which had been detained at one of the Cape de Verd islands, reached the Zaire. The sight of an European sail, created no small joy in the minds of the petty rulers, on either bank of the river, who hoped they should now have an opportunity of getting rid of a number of their slaves, a commodity with which they ingenuously acknowledged they had been completely over-run, ever since certain foolish restrictions had been imposed by the white sovereigns of the north; these restraints, however, Captain Tuckey could perceive were not very religiously observed, where there was any possibility of evading them.

In the morning of July 6th, they weighed anchor, and commenced their voyage up the Zaire, and on the next day were visited by the *mafook* or governor of Shark Point, as dirty a looking wretch as can be well conceived, who made pretensions sufficiently lofty, claiming to be received with as much respect as a prince. Finding, however, that he had not to deal with slave-trading vessels, he was content to receive

such accommodations as Captain Tuckey thought proper to bestow upon him. On the 10th Captain Tuckey, finding it impracticable to get the Dorothy transport up the river, determined to trans-ship the stores into the Congo. Whilst this business was performing, they were visited by many natives, and, among others, by the Mafook Sina, or chief king's merchant, of Embomma, an important personage, whom Captain T. found it expedient to indulge in his immoderate demands, on account of his influence at his sable majesty's court.

The difficulty of getting the transport up the river induced Captain Tuckey to put together his double boats, with which, and the Congo, he proceeded on the 18th of July, and on the 26th reached Lombee, or Loambo, the market-town of the *chenoo* or king of Embomma. Here Simmons, a black man who had been taken on board the Congo at Deptford, first met with his father and brother, who received him with transports of joy. On going on shore with his friends, the town resounded the whole night with the drum, and the song of rejoicing. This adventure, which adds one blot more to the character of European slave-traders, leads to an inference, that the tale of Oronooko may not be a romance.

The father of Simmons, it seems, who is called Mongovi Seki, a prince of the blood, and counsellor to the king of Embomma, intrusted him, when eight or ten years old, to a Liverpool captain, to be educated (or to use his expression, to learn to make book) in England; but this false friend found it less troublesome to have him taught to make sugar at St. Kitt's, where he sold him; and from whence he contrived to escape, and get aboard an English ship of war. Here he was paid off, on the reduction of the fleet. During the passage in the Congo, this man performed the menial office of a cook's-mate, without *any signs of impatience or disgust.*

A ceremonial visit was made to the chenoo of Embomma, who was with great difficulty made to understand the nature of the voyage. After a tedious conversation, the company sat down to an entertainment, in a large apartment, where some chests, covered with carpets, served at once for seats and table. The repast consisted of a soup of plantains and goats' flesh, a fowl cut in pieces and broiled, and some roasted plantains in lieu of bread; some sweet palm-wine, in a large silver tankard, was the only beverage. When dinner was ended, the king and his chiefs still appeared ignorant as to the real nature of the visit; at length an old man started up, plucked a leaf from a tree, and holding it to Captain Tuckey, said, "If you come to trade, swear by your God; and break the leaf." On his refusing to do so, he said, "Swear by your God, you do not come to make war; and break the leaf." This, Captain Tuckey immediately did: on which the whole company performed a grand *Sakilla*, a kind of measured dance; and the assembly then broke up apparently quite satisfied.

The chenoo had about fifty women for his own use; these, as well as his daughters, he offered with equal liberality to the visitors, and the example was not lost upon his courtiers. The language of the men in offering them was the most disgusting and obscene, being composed of the vilest words picked up from English, French, and Portuguese. As no such offers were made farther up the river, it is but fair to presume that they were trained to this offensive custom by the European slave-dealers, who used to frequent Embomma, as the principal mart on the Zaire. In returning to the ships, the party observed a hut, in which the corpse of a female was lying, dressed as when alive; within were four women howling, to whom two men on the outside responded in a kind of cadence, producing a concert not unlike the yell of an Irish funeral. In a burial ground, they

saw two graves, not less than nine feet by five. The numbers of wrappers round the dead is only limited by the power of conveyance to one of these sort of graves; so that the first hut in which the body is deposited becoming too small, a second, a third, or even a sixth hut, of increased dimensions, is placed over it.

Both men and women shave the head in ornamental figures, according to fancy; and the brides are always closely shaven before they are presented to their husbands; this operation being performed on them by an old woman. Pendent breasts are considered as ornamental; the young girls, as soon as they begin to form, pressing them close to the body, and downwards, with bandages. They also sometimes file the two front teeth away, and raise cicatrices on the skin.

The common ceremony of closing a bargain, of giving a receipt or an assurance, is by breaking a leaf, and the agreement is then considered as irrevocable. The travellers found it necessary to perform this ceremony with the seller of every fowl.

On the 5th of August they proceeded up the river, as far as Yellalla, or the Cataracts, amid various impediments from the different tribes of natives; whom Captain Tuckey, by his address, contrived to conciliate. This was the winter of the country, the thermometer in the day seldom rising above 76°; and at night, when there are occasionally heavy dews, falling to 60°.

This journey to the cataracts, and a further one over the hills, in both of which they suffered great fatigue and privations, seems to have laid the foundation to that disease which proved fatal to so many of the party. Mr. Tudor the anatomist was the first who fell ill; and by the 17th of August, more than half the number were similarly circumstanced. Provisions of all kinds were now very scarce, and all they could procure were a few fowls and eggs, with a little cascada root, green plantains, and beans. The towns or

villages were thinly scattered, and the population very scanty. The natives offered no resistance to their further progress; but their aid was dearly purchased, and sometimes reluctantly afforded.

On the 22d of August, Captain Tuckey found himself very ill, but was determined to proceed: on the same day he was deserted by Simmons, the black interpreter; but he luckily had with him another whom he had brought from Embomma. Though the party continued to droop and fall behind, one after the other, Captain Tuckey and Professor Smith still resolved to push on, especially as above a town called Inga, the residence of a chenoo, the river again was found to be navigable, and to stretch out into a magnificent sheet of water. The sight of this fine stream, and the improved appearance of the country, gave them new spirits; they hired canoes, and partly by river navigation, and partly by land marches, continued their progress upwards, till the 9th of September, when the bearers of the baggage positively refused to go any farther.

Here Captain Tuckey, finding all persuasion useless, was obliged to pitch the tent, and, with Dr. Smith and Lieutenant Hawkins, walked to the summit of a hill, where they perceived the river winding again to the south-east: but their view did not extend above three miles; the water was clear of rocks, and according to the information of the natives, as far as they knew, there was no impediment whatever above this place. Here, however, they were under the lamentable necessity of turning their backs upon the river, which was not done without great regret, but still with the consciousness of having done all that they possibly could.

The few who had proceeded thus far, were in a miserable condition; the only two who had retained their health being Doctor Smith and Mr. Lockhart the gardener, the former of whom had become so ea-

raptured with the improved appearance of the country, &c. that it was with the utmost difficulty he could be persuaded to return; a few days after, he was attacked with a fever, and expired four days subsequent to his arriving on board the ship.

About 140 miles from the mouth of this river, Captain Tuckey came to what are called the Narrows, which commence here, and continue forty miles, extending to a place called Inga, and confine the current to a width of from three to five hundred yards. The banks between which the water is thus hemmed in, are for the whole of this distance everywhere lined with precipices, and composed entirely of masses of slate, which, in several places, run in ledges across from one bank to the other, forming rapids, or cataracts, to which the natives give the name of *Yellalla*. The largest of these barriers was found to be a bed of mica slate, the fall of which was estimated to be about thirty feet perpendicular, in a slope of three hundred yards.

On visiting this yellalla, Captain Tuckey, Professor Smith, and Mr. Fitzmaurice, were not a little surprised to observe how small a quantity of water passes over this contracted part of the river, compared with the immense volume that rolled into the ocean, through the deep funnel-shaped mouth of that stream; the more so, as they had previously ascertained in their progress upwards, that not a single tributary stream, sufficient to turn a mill, fell into the river on either side, between the mouth of it and the cataract; and they concluded that the only satisfactory explanation of this remarkable difference in the quantity, was the supposition that a very considerable mass of water must find its way through subterraneous passages under the slate rocks; disappearing probably where the river first enters these schistose mountains, and forms the Narrows; and *rising again a little below their termination, at*

Point Sondie, where the channel begins to widen, and from whence, to Lemboo Point, a succession of tornadoes and whirlpools were observed to disturb the regular current of the river. These whirlpools are so dangerous and violent, that no vessel could attempt to approach them.

The instances of rivers losing themselves under ground are so common in all countries, that no objection ought to lie against a similar occurrence in this. However, beyond this mountainous region, the Zaire was again found to expand to the width of two, three, and even more than four miles, and to flow with a current of two to three miles an hour. Near the place where Captain Tuckey was compelled to abandon the prosecution of his journey, which was about 280 miles from Cape Padrone at the mouth of this river, it put on a majestic appearance, the scenery was beautiful, and not inferior to any on the banks of the Thames; and the natives of this part all agreed in stating, that they knew of no obstacle to the continued navigation of the river, excepting a single ledge of rocks in the north-eastern branch, forming a kind of rapid, over which, however, canoes were able to pass.

The mountains which form the narrows and rapids of the river, though not exceeding 2,000 feet in height, are destitute of arborescent plants, and the lower ranges of hills are not clothed with those forests of perpetual verdure usually met with in tropical climates. The large trees are only found in the valleys, or thinly sprinkled over the sides and summits of the hills. Those which chiefly characterize the landscape, and appear to be very general along the whole extent of the shores, are said to be the *Adansonia*, *bombax pentandrum*, &c. On the alluvial banks, the mangrove, mixed with the palm, with intermediate patches of the Egyptian papyrus forms the grand feature of the vegetation.

As far as Captain Tuckey proceeded, he found the Zaire flowing from some part of the north, combined with the east; and the information he received from the natives, uniformly agreed in describing the course as holding on in the same direction, to the utmost limits of their knowledge. Some of them even mentioned that it issued out of a lake, far in the interior; and as the geographical position of that lake coincides in a remarkable manner with that of Wangara, into which the Niger is generally understood to fall, the fact thus asserted to Captain Tuckey, and without any possible motive in the Africans to deceive or mislead him, cannot fail to be regarded as a strong presumptive proof in favour of his hypothesis.

But the time at which the river begins to flood, affords a still stronger argument on the same side of this hypothesis. The rains in tropical countries, it is well known, follow the course of the sun. Thus the Nile begins to rise in Egypt on the 17th of June, or near the summer solstice, thereby affording data to prove that its sources are situate between the line and the tropic of Cancer. The Zaire also begins to swell at such a period as proves completely, that by far the greatest quantity of its water comes from the north of the line; and, consequently, that its principal branch must proceed from the north-east—the very direction in which Captain Tuckey traced it. The whole rise, as marked on the rocky banks, was only eleven feet; and he was long enough in the country to see it reach seven feet, without a single shower having fallen, that deserved to be noticed;—a fact that proves, with the force of demonstration, that the main stream of the Zaire is derived from the north. The Zaire did begin to swell at the precise period that Captain Tuckey anticipated, which fact coinciding with, and corroborating the conclusion he had drawn, induced him to note down in his journal

the important words which he did not live to explain—"the hypothesis is confirmed." And it is said, he lamented on his death-bed, that he was not permitted to live, to put in order the remarks he had collected, in tracing upwards this extraordinary river.

The position of the Wangara lakes, the supposed source of the Zaire, is judged to be somewhere between the twelfth and fifteenth degree of north latitude, the position usually assigned them in the charts; and that the southern outlet is under or near the twelfth parallel. The direct distance between that and the spot where Captain Tuckey first observed the Zaire to rise, may be taken at about 1,200 miles; which, by allowing for windings of the river, and some little difference of meridians, cannot be calculated at less than 1,600 miles.

So little were the party incommoded by heat or rain, or a moist atmosphere, that after an excursion of several days, Captain Tuckey, writing from the cataracts, observed, the climate was so good, and the nights so pleasant, that no inconvenience was felt from their bivouac in the open air. And although the greater number were carried off by a most violent fever, of the remittent kind, some of them appeared to have no other ailment than that which had been caused by extreme fatigue, and actually died of exhaustion. The men, too, it should be observed, were permitted to go on shore, where the day was passed in running from one village to another, and the night commonly in the open air; and, though the dews were scarcely perceivable at this time of the year, the fall of the thermometer was very considerable, fifteen or twenty degrees below that of the day. Spirituous liquors were not to be had; but excesses of another kind were freely indulged, to which the men were prompted by the native blacks, who were always ready to give up their sisters,

daughters, or even their wives, for the hope only of getting a few trifles in return.

The animals near the banks of this river, appear to be those chiefly which are found in every part of this great continent; lions, leopards, elephants, buffaloes, antelopes, wild hogs, porcupines, hares, monkeys, &c. Domestic animals are of few species, and rare. The natives have hogs, goats, fowls, muscovy ducks, and pigeons; a few sheep, generally spotted, and clothed with hair, instead of wool. The people here appear to be uncleanly feeders, being seldom at the trouble of picking the feathers from the fowls, or removing the skin, much less the hair, from the flesh of goats, which they devour when scarcely warmed by the fire, tearing it in pieces with their teeth.

A long list of birds, fishes, and inferior animals, is given in an appendix to this voyage, by Dr. Leach, and many of these appear to have been hitherto unknown. The river abounds with good fish, and also with those monsters, the hippopotamus and the crocodile of the Nile.

Of the plants, according to the account given by Mr. Brown, about 250 are absolutely new: nearly an equal number exist also in different parts of the west coast of equinoctial Africa, and not in other countries; of which, however, the greatest part are yet unpublished, and about seventy are common to other regions within the tropics.

The most valuable fruits are the plantain, the papaw, limes and oranges, pine-apples, pumpkins, the tamarind, and a fruit about the size of a small plum, called Safu. The plant, however, of the greatest importance to the natives, is the oil-palm, from which is extracted the best palm wine, though this beverage is also procured from two other species.

Few of the villages seen along the line of the Laire contained more than a hundred huts; these

were mostly placed amidst groves of palm and *Adansonia*. They consist generally of six pieces of the better kind; being constructed of palm-leaves matted together with considerable skill. The bedding of the inhabitants is made of the same leaves, as are also their baskets; they have gourds or calabashes, for bowls; earthen vessels for boiling their victuals; and they eat with wooden spoons. Their canoes are the hollowed trunks of the bombax, or cotton-tree; each being from twenty to twenty-four feet long, and from eighteen to twenty inches wide. A rude hoe, or piece of iron stuck through a short wooden handle, is the implement most in use for agricultural purposes. The climate is so fine, that little is required beyond that of putting the seed into the ground; and so temperate, that all the European fruits, grains, and culinary vegetables, might here flourish together. Captain Tuckey found the atmosphere cool, dry, and refreshing; the sun so seldom shining out, that for four or five days together, they were unable to get a correct altitude.

The cultivation of the ground is entirely the business of slaves and women; the king's daughters and princes' wives being constantly thus employed, or in collecting the fallen branches of trees for fuel. The only preparation the ground undergoes, is burning the grass, raking the soil into little ridges with a hoe, and dropping the Indian corn grains into holes. There are no cocoa-nut trees, according to the natives, found in the country; the only root observed, was the sweet cassava, which they eat raw and roasted. Sugar-cane of two kinds are seen. The natives are, with very few exceptions, dressed in European clothing; their only manufacture being a kind of caps of grass, and shawls of the same material: both are made by the men, as are their houses and canoes, the latter of a high tree, which grows up the river, and appears to be a species of the *ficus*, resembling the

Acus religiosa. These boats vary in their size ; but appear to be generally from twenty to twenty-four feet long, by eighteen to twenty and twenty-four inches wide. Their drinking vessels are pumpkins or gourds, and their only cooking-utensils, earthen-pots of their own making, in which they boil or stew their meats, but more generally boil them. They take no wild animals for food, a few birds only excepted, but they are very inexpert in the use of the musket ; and their natural indolence seems to suppress any fondness for the chase.

Their musical instruments consist of a large drum, and a kind of guitar, or rather a lyre, which appears to be constructed with great care.

The state of society among the Congo tribes, seems to be pretty nearly the same as that of all the negro nations ; but in their moral and physical character, they ought probably to be placed among the lowest of the Africans. The women not only cultivate the land, but carry the produce to market, range the woods for food and firing, manage the canoes in catching fish, and perform all the laborious duties ; while the men saunter about, or lie at full length, stringing the beads or cowrie shells which the women wear, or are strumming some musical instrument. If the males exert themselves at all, it is in dancing by moonlight. They are, however, generally lively, good-humoured, and hospitable to strangers, and, considering the low state of civilization, far more honest than could have been expected. Their features are neither so strong, nor their colour so deep, as those of the more northern negroes ; and they are said to indicate great simplicity and innocence. Excepting one knife, which was stolen by a boy, the party met with no instances of theft : and on one of the great men being informed of the loss in this case, the whole of the persons present were called under the great tree, and asked indivi-

the language of Congo, according to which extends quite across the continent, and many words are found to correspond, not only with Mosambique, but also with that of the Cape the Cape of Good Hope; and it does not possess any of that complicated mechanism some authors have assigned to it. :

From Captain Tuckey's observations on the country, and manners of the people, it appears that the mere soil and exterior of the landscape has in it particularly inviting, till the travellers passed the Narrows, or Cataracts; but at this point the interest of the scenery certainly ceases. Vegetables abounded, as did also domestic animals fit for food and labour; nor were they exposed to many warm climates, to teasing and noxious insects. The party suffered no annoyance from scorpions, centipedes, musquitoes, &c. From the abundance of bees, and the hills being well clothed with vegetation, Congo, it was remarked, might be made to flow with milk and honey."

The form of society may be described as far removed from the patriarchal. The

igh the female line. The daughter of such a
 mage is therefore at liberty to choose her hus-
 , whilst the man fixed on by her, has not the
 r of refusing; but as she thus acquires the
 of disposing of him as a slave, and as she
 ently avails herself of this privilege, if he does
 nswer her expectations, it sometimes happens,
 the gentleman contrives to rid himself of his
 ess, by the help of a poisonous draught, and
 secures at once, his liberty, his rank, and his
 ired riches. The privy-council of the cheno
 mposed of his own family; and it is remarked,
 their consultations are frequently held under the
 bs of the *ficus religiosus*. His brothers and
 are his generals; and the elders of the tribe ex-
 e authority in his absence.

before observed, the rank of the Congo negro,
 e scale of improvement and intelligence, is very

The vast shoals of Catholic missionaries, who,
 e sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, poured into
 art of Africa, appear not to have advanced the
 es one single step in civilization; and a rude
 are of Catholic, with Pagan, superstitions, found
 g the Sagnio people, on the left bank of the
 , was all that could be discovered of Christi-
 . after the labours of these missionaries for three
 red years! Some of these people that came off
 e British vessels, appeared the very worst, in
 respect, of all the tribes that were met with on
 banks of the river, being exceedingly filthy, and
 run with vermin. One of them was a priest,
 had been ordained by the Capuchin monks of
 go, and carried with him his diploma, or letters
 dination. He could just write his name, and
 of St. Antonio, and read the Romish litany;
 o little was he of a Catholic, that his rosary,
 relics, and his crosses, were mixed with his
 estic *fetiches*, or charms; and so indifferent a

Christian, that this "bare-footed black apostle," as Dr. Smith calls him, boasted of having no fewer than five wives.

The only two crimes punishable with death, among these people, are adultery and murder by poison. If the wife of a Chenoo should go astray, he inflicts upon her what punishment he may think fit; but her paramour must of necessity suffer death. An instance of this kind happened while Mr. Fitzmaurice was stationed at Embomma. The man was first carried to the mate of a slave-ship then trading in the river, and offered to him for sale; but on being rejected, those who had the charge of him, bound his hands and feet, and without further ceremony, threw him into the river.

These African negroes are, in their eating, most disgusting. One day, as Captain Tuckey's butcher had taken off the skin of a sheep, a Mandingo slave, purchased by the captain, threw it, with the wool adhering to it, over a smoky fire; and, before he was discovered, had nearly eaten the whole hide. Another time, on the occasion of a palaver, or conference, when Captain Tuckey had given the Chenoo's family a small keg of brandy, a violent scramble took place among the privy-council, to come in for a share of this precious liquor; and towards the conclusion, one not having been able to catch his portion, his neighbour, who had been more fortunate, and who had kept it as long as he could hold in his breath, which they always do, very generously spat a part of his mouthful into the mouth of the other man.

The superstitious practices of the people of Congo are of the grossest description. Here, as in many other parts of Africa, the natives place their chief confidence in the supposed charms, called *Fetiches*, from the Portuguese word called *Feitico*. Every individual has his fetiche, and some possess a dozen,

which they regard as so many tutelary deities, and as a complete protection against every imaginary evil. Yet there is nothing so vile in nature as not to serve for a negro's fetiche. The horn, the hoof, the hair, the teeth, and the bones of all manner of quadrupeds; the feathers, beaks, claws, skulls, and bones of birds; the heads and skins of snakes; the shells and fins of fishes; pieces of old iron, copper, wood, seeds of plants, and sometimes a mixture of all, or most of them, strung together, make up the "holy thing" which the Congo savage venerates, and in which he puts his trust. If, however, notwithstanding the protection of these watchful guardians, the negro at any time falls into misfortune, he attributes the disaster entirely to his own misconduct. Often, too, when about to commit a crime, he lays aside his fetiche, covers up his deity, in order that he may not be privy to the deed. Some of the persons of the expedition shewed to one of the chief men, a magnet, which the latter observed, "was very bad fetiche for black man; it was too lievy, and had too much *arroy*," (knowledge.) The priests ascribe to a fetiche properly prepared, the power of discovering a thief; and our countrymen saw no small reason to suspect, that these gentlemen, rather than suffer the efficacy of the fetiche to be questioned, were in the practice of selecting victims and killing them by poison; for the first person who died in the village, after an act of undiscovered theft, was in all cases reputed the criminal. The very circumstance of dying was considered as at once the proof and the punishment.

The Chenoo of a village had boasted to Mr. Fitzmaurice, of a war-fetiche, "which, if any one attempted to shoot at, the flint would fall out, and the person so attempting, would fall down dead." On Mr. Fitzmaurice and Mr. Hodder expressing a wish to have a shot at this redoubtable deity, he observed, "that he loved them too much to let them try:"

on telling him, however, that if, on firing, they missed it; or if they sustained any harm, they would give him a whole piece of baft, and a bottle of brandy, his fears for their safety immediately vanished before the prospect of gain, and he consented. Six yards was the distance measured off. The fetiche was the figure of a man rudely carved in wood, and covered with rags, about two feet high and one foot broad. In the course of the evening, the interpreter, who had a great regard for the strangers, appeared extremely sad and pensive; and being asked the cause, replied, he very much feared his good masters were going to die: and entreated, in the most urgent manner, that they would give the baft and the brandy, and let the fetiche alone. Being absent for some time; he said, on his return, that he had been at the village: that the king and his nobles were holding a palaver, whether they should venture the fetiche or not; and that they had asked him, whether he thought white men would dare to fire at it; and on his answering in the affirmative, they exclaimed, "*men/leele zaambie m'oonga*," White men are gods. The chenoo made his appearance the following morning, but without the fetiche, and was very desirous of seeing the fowling-piece fired, in which he was gratified; and, on perceiving the ball strike the mark fired at, he seemed very much astonished, and went away without saying a word. In the evening he returned, with nearly the whole of the inhabitants; begged they would not think of firing at his fetiche; for if they should, and this was known to the neighbouring chenoes, they would all make war upon him immediately. His entreaty was made with so much real anxiety in his countenance, as to leave no doubt of his being in earnest, and all further trial of his faith was declined. The notions of these Africans of a future state, do not appear to be very well defined. They seem, however, to hold the belief of a paradise, in which they

shall all be happy, and also to have some notion of a good and evil principle. The former they call *Zamba M'Poonga*, the latter *Caddee M'Peemba*; but their principal veneration is bestowed upon the fetiches.

There is something very singular in their mode of interment. They do not commit a corpse to the ground immediately after death, but, on the contrary, keep it for several years in a separate hut. They dig their graves to an immense depth, and afterwards decorate them with shrubs, elephants' teeth, and various orders of fetiches.

Salt is the great object of trade at the market-point, and is made near the river's mouth, and brought up by canoes in baskets of the substance that covers the trunk of the palm tree. The other objects of petty traffic are palm oil and palm nuts, from which the oil is extracted; as also, Indian corn, pepper, and mat sails for canoes. The small money in use is little mats of the leaf of the bamboo, about eighteen inches square, twenty of which will purchase a fowl. The name of Zaire is entirely unknown to the people of Embomma, who call it the "*Moienza énzad-di*," The Great River, or literally the river that absorbs all the lesser ones; but this title must be derived from its receiving tributary streams higher up, though Captain Tuckey saw no stream of consequence; and the only springs observed by him, were two very insignificant ones, issuing from a rock near the Banza; there is also said to be good rock-water at the market-point, and at Tall Trees. While at anchor at Sherwood's creek, the natives brought the vessel a cask of excellent water from a creek at Kelly's point. The river water is at this season but little muddy, and after being boiled, and allowed to deposit its sediment, is not found to affect the people.

There are several varieties of the palm-tree, three of which afford excellent palm-wine. The only

vegetable production of any consequence in commerce is cotton, which grows wild and luxuriantly; but the natives have not gathered it since the English ceased to trade into the river; the Liverpool merchants formerly took off a small quantity.

Captain Tuckey's example has evidently shewn that the explorer of the Zaire should not embark on it until he has passed the narrows; and then two or three boats or canoes, which might be carried overland in frames, would suffice for the navigation upwards, thus saving the immense exertion which led to the death of the principal persons that joined in his attempt. Mules or asses, which could easily be procured in the Cape de Verd islands, would prove most serviceable in conveying the men and luggage to the point of embarkation; and if the accounts of the native traders are at all to be relied upon, there would be no material obstruction for several hundred miles.

The survey of the Congo or Zaire, published by Mr. Maxwell in 1795, is very explicit upon the localities peculiar to this river. From this it appears that its width from Shark Point across the Moona Mazea bank, to the opposite shore, is about fifteen miles, the mid-channel near the mouth 100 fathoms deep, the current six miles an hour. At twenty-three miles from the extreme point of its embouchure, the channel contracts to two miles and a half, and the depth is still marked at 100 fathoms. At fifty-four miles it spreads out into several branches, divided by islands, sand-banks and shoals. At ninety miles it again contracts into one channel a mile and a half in width, the depth for some distance being thirty, but afterwards fifty fathoms, which is carried up to the distance of 130 miles, where the survey ends. Fifty or sixty miles beyond this, where the navigation is interrupted by falls or cataracts, the natives call the place *Gamba Enzaddi*. Mr. Maxwell's chart con-

veys a good idea of this river, but the soundings are not correct; he observes, however, what must occur to every one, that the mud and earth brought down by this rapid stream, whirled about in numerous eddies, must cause the banks to shift, and the soundings to be continually changing. In the rainy season, Mr. Maxwell said the rise of the river was not above nine feet.

The *Amelia* frigate, commanded by Captain Irby, in attempting to get into the Zaire, with an ordinary breeze, and before the regular sea-breeze set in, was swept round by the current towards the great Moona Mazea bank, on the north side of the entrance, and was perfectly ungovernable, and even with the breeze it was necessary to creep close along the southern shore, where, in many places, they could find no bottom by sounding: the current running down at the rate of seven miles an hour. This rapidity, with the frequent eddies and whirlpools, made it a more dangerous task to get the ship down again with safety out of the river. In the mid-ocean, opposite to its mouth, they fell in with large floating islands, covered with trees and bushes, torn from the banks by the violence of the current; and when the *Amelia* was at anchor out at sea, in fifteen fathoms water, twelve miles distant from Cape Padron, the south point of the river's mouth, the current was running at four miles and a half in an hour, the water being perfectly fresh, coloured like rain-water, and much agitated. In the same year, Captain Schobell, of the *Thais*, being upon this part of the coast, observes: "In crossing this stream, I met several floating islands, or broken masses, from the banks of that noble river, with the trees still erect; and the whole wafting to the motion of the sea, rushed far into the ocean, and formed a novel prospect even to persons accustomed to the phenomena of the waters."

In connexion with the expedition of Captain

Tuckey, a party of discovery was sent into the interior of Africa, much about the same time, commanded by Major Peddie, who, making his way into the country by the river Nunez, was directed to follow the track of Mungo Park in descending the Niger, and to proceed as far as circumstances would permit, with a view either of tracing it to its termination in the interior, or to its estuary on the shores of the Atlantic. However, Major Peddie, who set out from Senegal in October 1816, died before he could reach the Niger; and Lieutenant Campbell, upon whom the command then devolved, after struggling some time with the baleful effects of the climate, and the unreasonable conduct of the natives in detaining him two months near the source of the Nunez, likewise fell a victim to sickness and fatigue.

CHAP. XVII.

The Ashantees—Mr. Bowdich indefatigable—Departure of the Mission to Coomassie—Palm Wine—Black Ants—Fire Flies—A Fetish House—Arrival at Coomassie—Dress of the Captains—Splendid Ceremonies—Human Sacrifices—Fetish Men—The Harem—The Yam Custom—Mode of making War—Diet—Agriculture—Beasts and Birds—Mr. Hutchinson's Diary—Taking of Doom—Laws, &c.

BEFORE we enter into the more particular details of Mr. Bowditch's mission, it may be proper to observe that our recent intercourse with the people called Ashantees, seems to hold out the most promising medium for making us better acquainted with the interior of Africa. Their country lies considerably in the interior; Coomassie, their capital, is

about 200 miles from the coast ; but at present they appear equally disposed with ourselves to establish a commercial correspondence. The Ashantees fight with muskets, bows, and arrows ; and the king, it is asserted, values not the lives of thousands to carry any point on which he is determined. " Their bravery," says Governor Torrane, " I have more than once highly extolled ; it is not to be surpassed ; they manifest a cool intrepidity, you, gentlemen, would look at with surprise and admiration. In all my negotiations with the king, I had cause to remark, what I have not often experienced on the sea-coast, to wit, the strictest regard to his word ; in fact, I look on King Zey, or Sai, as he is called, to be a high character ; he is of a middling stature, remarkably well-built, and of a handsome open countenance. Indeed, all the principal Ashantees seem half a century advanced in civilization beyond the people on the water-side. I have received a message from the king, importing that as soon as the war shall be over, he will return and form his camp near Annamaboo, to the end that we may arrange all points for the future welfare of the country, and the regulation of the trade ; and here let me observe, that an intercourse securely opened with Ashantee, offers prospects of the highest advantage, and the more so as the slave trade is now at an end. The Ashantees have ivory and gold in great abundance, and the Fantees have ever thrown impediments in the way so as to prevent their immediate intercourse with us."

A little to the north, and somewhat further east of the country of the Ashantees, are people still more remarkable and original in their manners than the former ; these are the subjects of the king of Dahomy. In physical properties, they are a fine race of negroes ; their appearance is manly, and their persons strong and active. Like the ancient Spartans, they combine politeness with ferocity, and the utmost

practical cruelty with a generous and humane demeanour. The leading maxim of a Dahoman warrior is expressed in these words: "My head belongs to the king, not to myself; if he please to send for it, I am ready to resign it; or if it be shot through in battle I am satisfied, if it be in his service." The palace of the monarch is an extensive building of bamboo and mud-walled huts, surrounded by a similar wall about twenty feet high, enclosing a quadrangular space nearly a mile square. The entrance to the king's apartment is paved with human skulls, the lateral walls adorned with human jaw-bones, with a few bloody-heads intermixed at intervals. The long building resembles a number of farm-yards; and on the thatched roof numerous human skulls are ranged at certain distances, on small wooden stakes. In allusion to these, when the king issues orders for war, he only announces to his general, "that his house wants thatch." A very singular monopoly exists in Dahomy, where the king and his principal officers completely engross all the females in the nation, and accordingly no man can get a wife except at an enormous expense, and on the most disadvantageous conditions. When an individual is able to procure 20,000 cowries, he prostrates himself at the gate of the sovereign or of his vicergerent, presents the money, and begs to be favoured with a wife; when, instead of having the opportunity of selecting a natural friend, suited to his taste, and adapted to gratify the affections of his heart, he must take the female assigned him, whether she be old or young, handsome or deformed. Sometimes, out of malicious sport, a man's own mother is handed out to him, so that he loses both wife and money. To employ a portion of his supernumerary ladies, the king has formed them into a body guard; and these, to the amount of several hundreds, are regularly trained to the use of arms, under a female general:

performing their evolutions with as much dexterity as any other Dahoman troops. They also parade the streets with drums, trumpets, and other martial music. As to religion the native of Dahomy has no very distinct notions, and no great desire to be informed. Perhaps, exclaimed one of their chiefs to Mr. Snelgrave, who was attempting to instruct him ; “ Perhaps that God may be yours who has communicated so many extraordinary things to white men ; but as that God has not been pleased to make himself known to us, we must be satisfied with this we worship.” These negroes have also their bards, who string their exploits together in rude verse, and chant them to the warriors on solemn occasions. It is said that some of their compositions are so extremely prolix, that they occupy several days in the rehearsal. They are successful in manufacturing and dyeing cotton cloth here, and have made some proficiency in the working of metals. We may therefore hope, that through the channel lately opened up to the interior from Cape Coast Castle, the stream of improvement may gradually make its way till it reaches the centre of Africa, and thence diffuse itself over all the barbarous regions of this wide and ill-fated continent.

If we succeed in cultivating an acquaintance with the Ashantees, and through them with the ruler of Dahomy, a great facility will be opened for prosecuting discoveries to the eastward, and particularly towards the Lakes of Wangara, &c.

After all, it has been observed, it will be a great mistake if the shortest and best road for Europeans to Tombuctoo, will not be found to be that from Coomassie, the capital of the Ashantees. It is somewhat remarkable that we should just now, for the first time in the course of two hundred years, learn any thing certain of this rich and populous nation, whose capital is not much more than 150 miles from the British factory.

The experiment, however, was attended with some danger and hazard, as Mr. Bowdich, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Tedlie, the persons sent, were at first kept in close confinement, owing to the jealousy instilled into the mind of the king of Ashantee, by some Moorish merchants, assisted by the intrigues of Daendels, the representative of the king of the Netherlands, on this part of the coast of Africa. The good conduct of these envoys, however, enabled them to overcome all difficulties; and the king, it is said, was so well satisfied of the sincerity of their views and declarations, that he concluded a treaty with them, and consented to send his children to be educated at Cape Coast Castle.

However, of all the plans to explore Africa, none can be more likely to succeed than one founded upon the co-operation of the native powers.

Mr. Bowdich being indefatigable in his endeavours to procure information respecting Ashantee and the countries beyond it, from one of the travelling Moors, procured a route-book, at the expense of his own wardrobe, and the doctor's medicines; but the fellow told him "he had sold him his eye." The route from Coomassie to Tombuctoo, it appears, is much travelled; in the way thither, the next adjoining territory is that of Dwabin, with the king of which, Mr. Bowdich also concluded a treaty. Bordering on Dwabin, is a large lake of brackish water, several miles in extent, and surrounded by numerous and populous towns. Beyond this lake is the country of Buntunkoo, but with the monarch here, the king of Ashantee was unfortunately at war. The mission having also obtained the knowledge of the exact situation of the gold pits in Ashantee and the neighbouring kingdoms, it appears that the name of the "Gold Coast," has not been unaptly given to this part of Africa.

The name of the Ashantees seems not to have been

heard of till 1707 ; but no clear and distinct knowledge of them was obtained till the year 1807, when the full extent of the power of these semi-barbarians began to be experienced. Being then at war with the *Fantees*, a nation situated between them and the English at Cape Coast Castle, an Ashantee army penetrated the coast, and totally depopulated the hostile territory. In this invasion the Dutch fort of Cormantine, without any regard to the sacred rights of neutrality, was sacked and pillaged, and it was only owing to the determined skill of Governor White, with his scanty but heroic garrison, that the English castle at Annamaboe escaped the same fate. Five officers, with four free mulattoes, and twenty men, including soldiers, artificers, and servants, stood a siege of several days ; the cannon of the fort was of little use, and the principal security of the defenders consisted in their musketry : two of the officers after the governor had been obliged to retire in consequence of his wounds, fired nearly 300 ball-cartridges in endeavouring to drive the assailants from one of the gates. An endeavour, in which it is little probable they would have succeeded, if a lucky shot had not killed the bearer of a torch at the moment he was applying it to the wood-work, and extinguished the flame by his corpse which fell upon it. The achievements of this small band of our countrymen were not likely to be forgotten by the Ashantees, who lost little less than 3,000 men ; though they were so skilful in the use of fire-arms, that if any of their opponents appeared at an embrasure, it was certain destruction.

A reinforcement at length arrived from Cape Coast Castle, and a friendly communication was established with the invaders. A good understanding being thus restored with the Ashantees, their king was contented with the chastisement he had inflicted upon the miserable Fantees, and, having nearly annihilated them, he retired to his capital in triumph. In 1816, his

invasions being renewed, Cape Coast Castle, though not absolutely attacked, underwent severe privations from a protracted blockade. Under these circumstances, it became a matter of great importance to the interests of the African Committee to endeavour to conciliate so powerful a neighbour as the king of the Ashantees, by entering into a kind of relationship in the way of treaty, and for this purpose to obtain permission of him for the residence of a British agent at his capital of Coomassie.

Accordingly, on the 22d of April 1816, a party, consisting of Mr. James, Mr. Bowdich, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Tedlie, with various other persons, natives of Cape Coast Castle, in the service of the African Company, amounting to 130, set out for the capital of Ashantee, with presents for the king. Their route was through Annamaboe, and Abra, the capital of the Fantees. The principal traffic on this part of the coast, as almost on every other, was formerly *slaves*; but since the abolition, a considerable and increasing commerce has been maintained, in valuable articles of native produce, in exchange for British manufactures.

The route taken by the mission of Mr. Bowdich and his associates, on its first leaving Cape Coast Castle, was for Payntree's Croom or village. After surmounting some difficulties occasioned by the reluctance of the persons who attended to carry the packages, a beautiful valley into which they descended is described as abounding with pines, aloes and lilies; and richly varied with palm, banana, plantain and guava trees. The gentle risings at a distance were crowned with cotton trees of an amazing size. The first croom they reached about three miles and a half from Annamaboe, is Quamas, consisting of a few huts. Simquoi, Taphoo, and Nasman, were found much the same; -but Booka, is romantically situated upon a high hill terminating the valley. Abra is



African mode of Travelling.

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1

about three miles eastward of this croom, and was entirely deserted soon after the last invasion of the Ashantee forces under Appi Nanu, who made it his head quarters. Tachradi, the next place, is now little more than a name, though most beautifully situated. The descents and risings of the travellers were frequently through long vistas, and having arrived at Payntree's settlement, they received his compliments, and those of several other *Caboceers* or chiefs, under a large tree, and were then introduced into a neat and comfortable dwelling, with a shed for cooking on one side, a sleeping-room on another, and a sitting room on a third. This village consisted of a good broad street of huts framed of bamboo, and neatly thatched, with a stream at one of the extremities. The delicate symmetry of the small birds seen here seemed to exceed their beautiful plumage: they were mostly green with black wings, and their nests were suspended from the trees. Payntree's farm-house afforded still more conveniencies: a dove-house, and large granary, raised on a strong stage. This dwelling consisted of four square apartments, entered from an outer one, where a number of drums were seen. The slaves occupied the most distant angles; but Payntree's own room, which had a kind of closet in it, was decorated with muskets, blunderbusses, cartouch belts, &c., and fancifully ornamented. Here they drank some good palm wine, and saw a cheerful fire on a clean hearth in the evening. A small plantation or garden, neatly fenced in, supplied the family with vegetables.

Cotocoomasca is about six miles and a quarter from Payntree's residence; but the huts are miserable and filthy. After some rest here, the party entered a large forest, impervious to the sun, where they were very much incommoded by troops of large black ants. Halting for the night, they continued their march next morning through the same gloomy forest,

and arrived about ten o'clock at Mansua, which had formerly been the great Fantee market for slaves from the interior ; but at present exhibits only a few sheds. On the same day they passed the small river Assooncara, running eastward ; and afterwards came to a second, called Okee, running in the same direction to the Amissa, which falls into the sea between Annamaboe and Tantum. Passing through five or six swamps, they halted at a spot where their guide Quamina was engaged in cutting down wood to accommodate himself and his women. The ground was damp, and swarmed with reptiles and insects ; of course the fires were not easily kept up. In the night they heard a panther, which the natives said resembles a small pig and inhabits the trees. A wild hog also rushed snorting by as if under a pursuit.

Proceeding on foot, their progress was frequently impeded by the crookedness of the paths, and the trunks of fallen trees, sometimes to the height of twenty foot: It was also necessary to wait for the cutting away of the underwood, as many climbing plants that ran up the trunks to some height, then shot down afterwards, crossed to the opposite trees, or threaded each other. They next passed the Quatoa, a small river, met with the Okee again, and afterwards walked through the Antoonso, a smaller river, running west south-west, and about nine yards broad ; over the former they stepped from rock to rock. Fouson, a large town destroyed by the Ashantee invasion of 1807, exhibited only a few sheds ; and so great was the scarcity in this unfortunate country, that the party could scarcely purchase any thing, or gain admittance into the most miserable hovel.

On the 29th of April, their path was level, but very swampy. Fire-flies made the herbage glitter in every direction. The people, too, being alarmed at what they call the spirits of the woods, uttered the most discordant yells for the purpose of keeping up

their courage, which being mingled with the howls of the wild beasts, and the screeching of night birds, had something about it bordering upon the infernal.

After leaving these shades, nothing could be more beautiful than the scenery on the banks of the Boosampra or Chemah river. Here a Fetish house, under a Chemou tree, first arrested their attention. After having passed the desolate territory of the conquered Fantees, and crossed the Boosampra, the scene brightened, and Prasoo, the first town, only three quarters of a mile from it, presented a clean wide street, with regular houses. The inhabitants, with cheerful countenances, left their houses to view the strangers, whom they saluted in a friendly manner. These people, who are called the *Assins*, are, collectively considered, a more mannerly and orderly race than the Ashantees. Kickiwherree, another town about a mile and a half further, had its houses whitewashed, and is larger than Rasso. Here the travellers halted under a banian tree, most commonly used for recreation alone; they were afterwards taken into a good house, containing four very clean rooms, about twelve feet by seven, accommodated with shelves, and a curtain or screen of bamboo, which let down in the open front. The floors, raised about a foot and a half from the ground, were washed every day with a kind of red earth. The first Ashantee croom at which the travellers arrived, was called *Questa*. Here a venerable old man requested them to stop, and regaled them with some palm wine and fruit. The pleasing manners of this unfortunate man, made it more painful for the gentlemen to hear that he was to be shortly sacrificed, according to some superstitious observances of the country; and only waited the favour of being executed at his own croom, without undergoing the fatigue of a journey to the capital. This request he obtained; as his head was brought to Coomassie the day after the party reached that town; he had conversed cheer-

fully with them at his residence, and congratulated himself on seeing white men before he died.

Passing Doomassie to Dadawasse, they there found a messenger from the king, with a present of a sheep, forty yams and two ounces of gold, for their table, and appointing the following Monday for their entrance into the capital. The path having been cleared by the king's order, the plantations became more frequent and extensive, and the numerous ways branching off from that they travelled in, indicated that the country was thickly inhabited, and the intercourse more frequent and convenient. The Acassey or blue dye plant, grew profusely. Passing several little rivers, and coming to Aquinassee, they observed a neatly fenced burial-ground. During their stay at Assimienia, there was a violent tornado in the night, which swelled the small streams near the town from ankle deep to three feet. Each croom they saw between here and the capital, presented one wide street, ornamented with the cachou trees at the extremities. On the river Dah, they observed a weir for taking fish, very ingeniously constructed; two rows of strong wicker-work were fixed across, supported by large stakes driven into the ground, in an oblique direction on each side, and joined above and below by two large trees. A number of funnel-shaped baskets were inserted at the bottom, made of split cane, and about twelve feet long. This river runs close to Sarasson; and round this place there are large plantations of corn, which is a great nursery for pigs. Leaving Sarasson on Monday for Agogo, they there dressed themselves in full uniform; but being within a mile of the capital, their approach was announced to the king, who sent a messenger to tell them to rest at a croom called Patiassoo, till he had finished washing, when he would send some of his captains to conduct them to his presence: the distance was six miles and a half.





Ashantee, Captain in his War Dress

1752



A Seneguit, dressed in a coat of Ashantee

They entered Coomassie on the same day at two o'clock; but here they passed under a fetish, or sacrifice of a dead sheep wrapped up in red silk, and suspended between two lofty poles. They then met upwards of 5,000 people, mostly warriors, with "awful bursts of martial music, discordant only in its mixture, as horns, drums, rattles and gong gongs, were all exerted with a zeal bordering on frenzy. The smoke from the fire of the musquetry concealed every thing but the advanced part of this multitude, till the strangers were halted, whilst the Ashantee captains performed a kind of Pyrrhic dance in the centre of a circle consisting of warriors; here a confusion of flags, English, Dutch and Danish, were waved in all directions, the bearers plunging and springing from side to side in a manner approaching to frenzy. The captains who followed these ensigns sometimes discharged their pieces so close to them, that the flags were often in a blaze, and in the mean while their followers kept up their firing in the rear of the English. The dress of the captains is described as one of the most whimsical imaginable. What they call a *war-cap*, has gilded rams-horns projecting in front, the sides extending beyond all proportion, by the immense plumes of eagle's feathers with which these horns are decorated, and the whole is fastened under the chin with cowries. The vest, which is of red cloth, is covered with fetishes and saphies, or charms, in Moorish writing, enclosed in gold and silver and embroidered cases of almost every colour. The small brass bells added to these, with the horns and tails of animals, shells and knives, flapped against their bodies as they moved, whilst long leopards' tails hung down their backs over a small bow decorated with more fetishes. To loose cotton trowsers, they added immenso boots of a dull red colour, coming half way up the thigh, and fastened by small chains to their cartouch or waist-belt. From the right wrist, a small quiver of poisoned arrows was sus-

pended, and they held a long chain between their teeth, with a scrap of Moorish writing at the end of it. A small spear in the left hand was covered with red cloth and silk tassels; the whole, considering their black countenances, exhibiting a figure scarcely human. After this wild display of barbarism and superstition had continued about half an hour, the strangers were allowed to proceed, but very slowly, being encircled by the warriors. The several streets branching off to the right, presented long vistas crammed with people; and in those on the other side, the ground being on an acclivity, innumerable rows of heads might be seen one above another; whilst the large open porches before the houses were filled with the better sort of females and children. When the party reached the palace they halted again, whilst the persons who bore the presents for the king were sent forward with them. The day being uncommonly hot, the immense umbrellas, made to rise and sink from the jerkings of the bearers, and the large fans waving around, were highly refreshing. However, all this pomp, and the music, which now became more soft and soothing, was considerably damped by a horrid spectacle, before the house where the party was desired to wait a further signification of the king's pleasure. A man was here *tormented* previous to sacrifice, his hands were fastened behind him, and a knife was passed through his cheeks, to which his lips were noosed like the figure of S. One ear was cut off and carried before him, the other only hung by a small bit of skin; besides this, several gashes were made in his back: the strangers also observed that a knife was thrust under each shoulder-blade. A cord being passed through his nose, he was led by men with immense caps of shaggy black skins, with drums beating, &c. After the civil officers had come to announce his majesty's pleasure to see them, being mounted on their hammock-poles, they advanced to the market-place,



AN ASHLANTHE TORMENTED PREVIOUS TO SACRIFICE.

222

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an area nearly a mile in circumference. The king, his tributaries and his captains, seen at a distance, shone with inconceivable splendour, whilst the warriors and attendants of every description seemed to form an impassable barrier. The boisterous music was again succeeded by the soft breathings of the long harmonious flutes, and a pleasing instrument like the bagpipe, without the drone. Umbrellas or canopies sprung up and down by a number of persons, being made of scarlet, yellow and the most shewy silks, and crowned on the top with crescents, pelicans, elephants, swords of gold, &c., produced the most brilliant effect. These umbrellas were of different shapes, though mostly resembling a dome. In some of the vallances small looking-glasses were inserted; and from the fronts of others, the proboscis and small teeth of the elephant projected. A few were covered with leopard-skins, and crowned with various animals skilfully stuffed. The state hammocks, like long cradles, were raised in the rear, and had cushions and pillars, covered with crimson taffeta, and rich cloths hanging over the sides. The way for the party through this immense crowd, was made by the king's messengers, with golden plates on their breasts, and they were preceded by the canes and the English flag. Whilst shaking hands with every cabossier, it was observed that these people, as well as their superior captains and attendants, wore Ashantee cloth, which must have been costly in the extreme, being made of foreign silks, which had been unravelled for that purpose, and for weaving them in all the varieties of colour as well as patterns. Being large and heavy, these cloaks, &c., were carelessly thrown over the shoulder. Besides silk fillets round the temples, charms were suspended from massy gold necklaces. Some necklaces, formed of aggrg beads, reached down to the navel; the knees of others were encircled with a band of gold and beads, from which several strings of the

same depended. Others had small circles of gold round their ancles like guineas, rings, and casts of animals. The sandals were made of green, red and fine white leather; manillas and rude lumps of rock-gold hung from the wrists of some, and they were so heavily laden, as to lean for support upon the heads of some of their handsomest boys. From their gold-handled-swords, wolves and rams heads as large as life, cast in gold, were suspended. These were held around them in great numbers, the blades being shaped like round bells, and rusted with blood. The scabbards of these swords were made of leopard's skin, or the shell of a fish resembling shagreen. Large drums, which were carried on the head of one man, and beaten by two others, were braced round with the thigh-bones of their enemies, and ornamented with their skulls. The kettle-drums that rested on the ground, were covered with leopard-skin, and the wrists of the drummers being curiously hung with bells and small pieces of iron, jingled loudly. Smaller drums were suspended from the neck by scarves of red cloth. The horns which they blew, were made of the teeth of young elephants, and ornamented at the mouth-piece with gold, and the jaw-bones of human victims. Behind some of the chairs that carried their dignitaries, stood some of their handsomest youths, with corsets of leopard's skin, covered with gold and cockle-shells, and stuck full of small knives sheathed in gold and silver, with handles of blue agate. The cartouch-boxes, of elephant's hides, were ornamented in the same manner, and a large gold-handled sword was slung behind the left shoulder. Their long Danish muskets had broad rims of gold at small distances, and the stocks were ornamented with shells. Handsome girls stood behind some of the chairs with silver basins. The stools now seen were exquisitely carved, and having two large bells attached to them, were conspicuously placed on the heads of

favourites ; and crowds of little boys also were seated around flourishing elephants tails curiously mounted. The warriors sat on the ground, and so closely as not to admit of the English passing them without treading on their feet, to which they seemed totally indifferent. Their caps were made of the skin of the pangolin and leopard, the tails hanging down behind ; their cartouch-belts, composed of small gourds, that hold the charges, and covered with leopard or pig's skin, were embossed with red shells, and small brass bells thickly hung to them. On their hips and shoulders were a cluster of knives ; whilst some, who were distinguished by iron chains and collars, seemed prouder of them than gold. Leopard's skin formed the rests of their muskets, with which the locks also were covered. Seventeen Moors of some quality, with large cloaks of white satin, were very conspicuous ; their shirts and trowsers were of silk ; and their large turbans of white muslin, were studded with a border of different coloured stones : their attendants had red caps and turbans, and long white shirts. They gave the English as they passed a most malignant scowl. At length, on approaching the king, they observed the chamberlain, the gold horn-blower, the captain of the messengers, the keeper of the royal burial-ground, the captain of the market, &c., surrounded by a suitable retinue. The cook had a number of small services, covered with leopard's-skin, held behind him ; and before him was a large quantity of massy silver-plate, punch-bowls, waiters, coffee-pots, tankards, and a very large vessel with heavy handles and claw feet. The executioner, a man of large stature, wore a massy gold hatchet on his breast, and the execution-tool was held before him, disfigured with clotted blood. The king's four linguists were splendidly attended : their peculiar insignia, or gold canes, were raised in all directions, bound in bundles like fascies. The keeper of the treasury endeavoured to set off his

importance, by the ostentatious display of [the blow-pau, boxes, scales and weights, of solid gold. The dress of the monarch appeared to be a complication of all this barbarous finery; only he wore a pair of golden castanets on his finger and thumb, which he clapped to enforce silence. This immense parade was at length closed, as it were, by a band of Fetish men or priests, who wheeled round and round as they passed with surprising velocity. Some of them danced with irresistible buffoonery; some with a gesture and carriage of defiance. One distinguished caboceer performed the war-dance before the English party for some minutes, with a large spear which grazed them at every bound he made; but the greatest number passed them with order and dignity, some slipping one sandal, some both. Some turned round after having taken each of the strangers by the hand; the attendants of others knelt before them, throwing dust upon their heads. The king's messengers posted near them, with their long hair hanging in twists like a thrum-mop, used little ceremony in performing their part in the procession; yet it was nearly eight o'clock before the king approached. Being a beautiful star-light night, the torches which proceeded him, displayed the splendour of his regalia with a chastened lustre, and rendered the human trophies of the soldiers more awfully imposing. The skulls of three Banda Caboceers, who had been his inveterate enemies, adorned the largest drum: the vessels in which the boys dipped their torches were of gold. The king then stopped to inquire the names of the English party a second time, and to wish them good night. His address was mild and deliberate. His aunts, sisters and numerous chiefs succeeded; and it was long before the strangers could be permitted to retire, and they were then conducted to a range of spacious, but ruinous buildings, which had been the residence of one of the royal families of the country.

The capital of Ashantee is supposed to contain about forty thousand inhabitants. It lies in a vale, and is surrounded with one unbroken mass of the deepest verdure. The houses are low and small, of an oblong form, and composed of canes wattled together, and smoothly plastered over with a mixture of clay and sand, called *swish*, which is also used to form their floors. A piece of cloth passed round the loins, and extending to the knee, is the general dress of the natives. The richer class have a larger and finer piece, which they sometimes throw over their shoulders. They wear a great number of gold ornaments, rings, necklaces, pendants, &c., and gold *fetishes* of every form.

The king keeps his harem at a little distance from the capital, and once took the gentlemen of the mission on a visit to it. The ladies live in the midst of a park, in small houses adjoining one another, and are allowed to walk about the enclosure, but not to pass the gates, which are guarded by slaves.

The surrounding country abounds with large trees, but the timber is too hard to be worked by the tools of the natives. Cotton is cultivated with success, and so is tobacco; the latter, however, not being equal to the consumption, large quantities of it are imported by the Portuguese. Yams and plantains constitute the principal food of the natives; the culture of all kinds of corn being entirely neglected. Palm wine in a fermented state, is their common beverage. They have beef, mutton, buffalo, hogs, deer and monkeys; which last is their favourite dish. A religious prejudice prevents the royal family from eating beef. Elephants and camels are seen in great numbers; and the panthers are so excessively numerous, that three or four persons are carried off by them every night from the outskirts of the town.

The king sits three times a week to administer justice; and it is a rule with the Ashantees, that the

gainer of a cause should pay the expenses of the suit. His majesty himself does not claim an exemption from the processes and awards of law : for when an action is raised *versus* his barbarian highness, he submits his cause to the determination of the principal men; and if found in the wrong, he readily makes an apology, or whatever other compensation may be thought due to the injured party. The government is, notwithstanding, a pure despotism, and the king is the universal heir. His wives amount to an enormous number ; and it is death for any person even to pass near the gate leading to their residence. When any, of them walk abroad, they are attended by a train of boys and eunuchs, and a military guard, who shoot without scruple, all who do not fly at their approach.

Human sacrifices are so frequent, as to render Coomassie on this account a very disgusting residence for an European ; " they play with a man," as they term it, every forty-three days. A criminal, and if none is to be had, a prisoner of war, if of high rank so much the more acceptable. The victim is brought out into an open space, and taken possession of by twelve or fourteen men, hideously painted and dressed in tiger-skins, each being armed with two knives. They commence by thrusting a knife through the cheek, and transfixing the tongue, so as to prevent him from uttering any cries ; they then, as before observed, insert a knife near the shoulder-blade on each side of the back-bone, and lastly, pass a cord through the cartilage of the nose. The poor wretch is made to dance, and is mangled with deliberate cruelty for four or five hours. He is then led before the king's residence, that the king may be gratified by the spectacle of his last sufferings, and finally of his decapitation. Whenever the king goes to visit the tombs of his ancestors, he is obliged to propitiate them by the slaughter of from six to twelve human beings. The son of the king of Akim, a child seven or eight years old,

taken at the conquest of the country, was placed in a brass pan on a man's head, the people dancing round him in front of the chief temple or fetiche-house ; the boy was then ripped open, his head cut off, and the mangled carcase thrown into the enclosure of the temple as a present from the king. The daily sight of these and similar cruelties produces its natural effect on the manners of the people, who make no scruple of gratifying their revenge, or their thirst for gain ; and though the law does not allow any one to sacrifice a human being without the king's consent, it is, notwithstanding, frequently done by the rich, either as an offering to their ancestors, or from respect to their own fetish. The ditch round the temple is the general receptacle for these dead bodies, in consequence of which all water for domestic uses is obtained from wells.

A long diary that runs through a great part of this work, is acknowledged by the writer to be only a register of dull or disgusting circumstances, illnesses, human sacrifices and ceremonious visits.

The king was so much pleased with the intelligence and address of the English, that after all the preceding difficulties had been adjusted, he prevailed upon Mr. Bowdich to prolong his stay fifteen days at his capital ; and in one of his visits, he regretted that they were not more frequent : he owned the conversation of the English pleased him more than any thing else, because it told him of things that black men never thought of ; but that when he wished to see the English on that account, his great men checked him, and said, it did not become him as a great king to want them ; but that he should only send his compliments, see them, and make them wait a long time when sent for to the palace. Notwithstanding these and greater obstacles, the intercourse led to a preliminary, and afterwards to a full, treaty, by which the commercial interests of this country will no doubt be promoted

beyond any precedent in this promising part of the globe.

The period for the return of the English negotiators having arrived, the king wished Mr. Bowdich to remain another day ; but afterwards advised him to go no further than Oogoo that night, in order that his people should join him early in the morning. The darkness of the forest upon which they almost immediately entered, formed a dreary contrast to the brilliant scene they had quitted ; and while they groped their way, the howling of the wild beasts startled them as much as if they had never heard them before. Their torches went out, and the linguists lost themselves, and did not arrive at Oogoo until long after Mr. Tedlie and Mr. Bowdich. The inhabitants, who had retired to rest, rose cheerfully, and cleared the best house for them, making them fires, &c. At Sarassoo they were liberally regaled with palm wine, and halting at Assiminia, were hospitably received by the principal man. The rainy season having set in violently, the path was almost a continual bog. Pressing forward to avoid the danger of delays, Mr. Tedlie, Mr. Bowdich, and a soldier, and one Ashantee, were followed by the rest, but got out of their hearing when it was dark. They had already lost their shoes, when the evening was ushered in by a violent tornado, which separated them so that they could not hear each other's holloo. Luckily, Mr. Bowdich found he had one person left with him, viz., the Ashantee, who after he had groped him out, tying his cloth tight round his middle, gave him the other end, and pulled him through bogs and rivers, " exactly like an owl tied to a duck in a pond." Mr. Bowdich owns that the thunder, the darkness, and the howlings of the wild beasts were awful ; but the loud and continuing crash of a large tree, which fell very near them during the storm, was even more so to his ear. The Ashantee had continued to drag Mr. Bowdich

after him, till the latter judged it to be midnight, when, with the remnants of his clothes scarcely hanging together, he let go the Ashantee's cloth, and falling on the ground with extreme fatigue, was asleep before he could call out to him. Raised again, however, and seated on the trunk of a tree by this faithful guide, with his head resting on his shoulder, he assured him death would be the inevitable consequence of his sitting there, and of course "the duck and owl method" was again adopted. In another place the last river was forded; this labour Mr. Bowdich considered as final, but his drowsiness became so fascinating, that he even felt a momentary pleasure in yielding to it. Lifted therefore by this humane man from the bank of the river to a drier corner of the forest, more sheltered from the torrents of rain, he supposes he slept more than an hour; when awakening, he was agreeably surprised to find himself with a companion and a torch. The Ashantee then taking him on his back, in the course of three quarters of an hour carried him safely to Akrofroom. Here he was provided with a warm and dry apartment, furnished with a brass pan full of water to wash in, some fruits and palm-wine for his refreshment, and an excellent bed of cushions and mats, with plenty of country cloths to wrap round him, which causing a sensible degree of perspiration, Mr. Bowdich escaped every inconvenience, excepting a slight fever. Next day at noon a soldier arrived, and Mr. Bowdich had the happiness of hearing of Mr. Tedlie, who arrived soon afterwards, having left his companions in a slough till he could procure assistance for them from town.

Mr. Tedlie, whose feet had been much cut and bruised, had determined to stay in a tree all night; when an Ashantee came up with a torch, and conducted him to the remains of a shed where four or five of the people had taken refuge. Another party

also arrived at Akrofroom, about four o'clock; but the last, with the Cape Coast linguist, and the corporal, did not come up till after sun-set, they having lost the track altogether, and spent the whole day as well as the previous night in the wood. Crossing the Boosempira river, they began to leave the rainy part of the country behind them. After this they were for some days very badly accommodated in this desolate quarter, and one night lost a supper for want of a fire to dress it, though they had fasted all day. Mr. Bowdich wrapped himself up in the Inta cloth that had been before given him, and wet as the night was, owned he never slept more comfortably. Pursuing their course at day-light, they found some good guavas, with which they appeased their hunger, and at Mansue, made some excellent soup of their fowls; as pepper, &c., grew plentifully round about them. Upon their arrival at old Payntree's residence, they found he had built himself a new house in the Ashantee fashion. After the entertainment received here, Mr. Bowdich was requested to seat himself on old Payntree's state stool; the old man, and two or three Caboceers unknown to the English, standing round Mr. Bowdich, begged him to listen to an air composed by his band on the subject of the embassy. The burden of this song was, that "all would now be well, and Fantee revive and flourish."

Hearing there was a way from Payntree's to Cape Coast Castle, without passing Annamaboe, Mr. Bowdich procured a guide, and found the country beautifully diversified, passing through several groves of guava trees, and other tropical fruits. In some small plantations of Guinea corn, some unhappy Fantees still lurked among the ruins of the crooms destroyed by the Ashantees. The only water they saw was at Amparoo, and this was a piece nearly two miles in circumference, and sixty yards broad. After travelling fifteen miles, they ascended some rocky hills,

and from them descended into the flat country, through which they safely arrived at Cape Coast Castle, about twenty miles distant from the spot they left in the morning.

Among the most remarkable customs of the Ashantees, that of the *Yam*, celebrated annually, certainly claims the pre-eminence. This takes place in September, just as that vegetable arrives at a state of maturity. This is attended by all the Caboccers and captains, and the majority of the tributaries, the kings of Inta and Dagwhuma excepted, who send their deputies. This Yam custom is said to resemble the Roman Saturnalia, as the most unbounded licentiousness generally prevails without restraint. The king, at the time this ceremony was witnessed by Mr. Bowdich, received all the Caboccers and captains in the large area, where the Dankara cannon are kept. At this time all the heads of the kings and others whose territories had been conquered, from the time of Saito Tooto to the present reign, with those of the chiefs since executed for revolts, were exhibited by two parties of executioners, who performed a kind of frantic dance, some with the most irresistible grimace, some with the most frightful gestures. The principal part of this ceremony is the sudden clashing of the knives of upwards of two hundred executioners on these skulls, in which sprigs of thyme were inserted, as they say, to keep the spirits from troubling the king. Never, says Mr. Bowdich, did I feel so grateful for being born in a civilized country as at that moment. Firing of guns, and drinking palm, followed next; and the effect of this splendour, the tumult and the musketry, was increased by torch-light. The umbrellas extended to the most distant streets, and the sounds of horns, drums, &c., continued till four in the morning, just before the king retired. The whole town was covered all the while like a large fair.

The next morning the king ordered a large quantity

of rum to be poured into brass pans, in different parts of the town, when the crowd pressing, drank it in the most disorderly manner, pushing one another about and spilling much more than they drank. The streets of course are soon filled with drunkards, and among them strings of women covered with red paint, "falling down together like rows of cards." Children and all wear their best clothes at this time of inebriety. As all the ceremonies used by these people are more or less tinged with barbarity, about a hundred persons, mostly culprits, are generally sacrificed in different parts of the town, at this time. Several slaves were among this number when Mr. Bowdich was at Coomassie. Being killed over brass pans, their blood runs into them, and is mingled with various vegetables, and animal matter both fresh and putrified, as they say to complete the charm, and produce invincible fetish. The chiefs also kill slaves, and those who cannot afford to kill one, take the head of one already sacrificed, and lay it upon one of these altars. At the Contoom or harvest custom in Ashanta, each family erects something of this kind, composed of four sticks, driven into the ground, and twigs laid across the top; the whole is afterwards covered with leaves, fresh pulled, and according to the ability of the family, a hog, sheep, or goat, is killed, and the best parts laid on the altar. A mixture is then made of eggs, palm-oil, palm-wine, the blood of the animal killed, and other ingredients, all dedicated to the fetish, and these are placed in small pots upon the altar. After the Yam custom, all the king's gold ornaments are melted down, and reformed into the newest and most fashionable taste, and about ten days subsequent to the celebration, the king and all the royal household, eat yam, for the first time, in the common market-place. On the following day, before sun-rise, the king and his captains set off for Sarrasoo to perform their annual ablutions in the river Dah: as most of

the inhabitants attend him, the capital is nearly left empty. On the following day the king bathes in the marsh, at the south east-end of the town, and he then laves the water with his own hands over himself, his chairs, stools, and gold and silver plate. About twenty sheep are also immersed in the sacred stream; and one sheep and one goat are killed, in the palace in the afternoon, and their blood afterwards poured on the stools and door-posts, whilst all the doors, windows, and arcades, are plentifully besmeared with a compound of eggs and palm oil. On the return from this washing, the king's fetish men walk first, their followers holding basins of sacred water, which they sprinkle plentifully over the chiefs. On this occasion the king and his attendants wear white clothes, and three white lambs are led before him to be sacrificed in his bed-chamber. This procession is closed by all the king's wives and a guard of archers.

Like the Jews, the Ashantees commence their year in autumn, and they then celebrate or repeat the Adai, which the common people say the time for doing is known by the falling of a fruit like a gourd from a tree called Brebretim. This festival, and what is called the Little Adai, are kept with great ceremony, but as these mostly consist of the variation of marches, and performances upon horns, drums, muskets, &c., a repetition of the particulars would be dry, if not disgusting. Even the decease of a person here is announced by a discharge of musketry, in proportion to his rank or the wealth of his family, and as it is also customary to sacrifice a slave on these occasions, these poor wretches generally rush out of the houses when they hear of a death, and take refuge in the woods till the time expires. On the death of a king, his brothers, sons, and nephews, affecting temporary insanity, rush out of their dwellings with their muskets, and fire at random among the crowd. Persons of rank, if met, are not spared

than the Fantee women ; but beauty is only to be found among the upper ranks ; both men and women, however, are particularly cleanly in their persons, whilst the common people are frequently dirty. The young girls of thirteen or fourteen destroy the beauty of their bosoms, by wearing a broad band tight across them, which in process of time causes them to project in a conical shape. The food of the bettermost sort of people consists of dried fish, fowls, beef, mutton, and ground nuts, stewed in blood. The poor make their soups of dried deer, monkeys' flesh, and frequently of the pelts of skins. What are called foofoos, with yams, and plantains, are also eaten ; and their corn they roast on the stalk, the flavour of which, when young, resembles that of green-peas. They drink pitto, a liquor made from dried corn, almost as pleasant as brisk small ale. The fetish, or their religion forbids them to eat eggs, and milk they seem to abhor, leaving that entirely to the Moors. Their stews and white soups are highly relishing, and the black soups, made with palm oil, are not disagreeable. No musquitoes were seen in Ashantee, and the cattle there are as large as the English. The sheep are hairy ; and the horses in Dagwamba generally small. As these animals are never shod, their feet are always unsightly. The Moorish saddles are also clumsy ; the bridles are made of black leather thongs twisted, and brass links, with a whip at the end, a large ring hangs from the middle, and is slipped over the under jaw instead of a curb chain. The stirrups are hung very short ; some of the Moors rode on bullocks, with a ring through the nose. In their agriculture, it is remarkable the hoe only is used. The ground produces two corn crops in a year, and the yam plantations here resemble a hop garden. They are well fenced in, have a broad path round them, and a hut at each gate, formed of wicker, and here a slave resides with his family. In the market

besides the usual produce of the country, large snails were observed, smoke-dried, and placed in rows upon a stick, in a herring-bone manner. Here is also wild hog and monkeys' flesh. Lions abound on the northern frontiers of Inta, and in some parts of Ashantee; but the animal called the *sissah* or *sirrec*, it was said, would attack any other. The English, however, never saw one of these formidable creatures, but they met with one of the cat kind, spotted like a leopard. Among the birds there were several small ones, with beautiful plumage, and two in particular, which had a very agreeable song, like the English thrush and blackbird; green pigeons, crows, with a white ring round their necks, and a variety of parrots, of different colours; among the natives butterflies are spoken of as most beautiful, with a curious variety of beetles, snakes, scorpions, lizards, &c. After Messrs. Bowdich and Tedlie, with their attendants left Coomassie to return to the Gold Coast, Mr. Hutchinson remained as *locum tenens*, and was extremely minute in recording the occurrences of each day.

Mr. Hutchinson's Diary, which is given in Mr. Bowdich's account of the Mission to Ashantee, is extremely interesting.

On the 26th of September, he was sent for by the king of Ashantee, saying he would be glad if he would attend him in his customs, &c., when he should sit in public. Mr. Hutchinson answered, he would do so, except when human sacrifices were offered: as then it would be contrary to his inclination, his religion, and his instructions. Being told soon after, that the king was in the market-place, drinking palm wine, he went, and took his seat on his left. The king, as well as several of his chiefs, presented him with a pot of wine. All the musicians played while the king drank, and the executioners holding their swords with their right hands, covered

their noses with their left, while they snuffed out his victories and titles. Six little boys behind his chair finished the whole with a fetish hymn. After he had seen Messrs. Bowdich and Tedlie through the town, on their going away ; on his return home, he received the thanks of the crowd for staying. Apokoo, one of the king's favourites, was extremely avaricious. One day he wished to try on one of Mr. Hutchinson's gloves, but put it on the wrong hand.

On the 1st of October the king pressed Mr. Hutchinson to take some gin and water ; and on his being told it must be very little, as Mr. Hutchinson, being subject to a complaint, eat little, and walked much, the king said that was very proper. Odumata, a chief, who had before asked Mr. Hutchinson why he did not come and see him, and get drunk sometimes, was very much surprised, when he told him, " if he did so, he ought to have his sword broke over his head ;" and, on his drinking only half a tumbler-full of palm wine, the other replied, " he would drink three pots, quarts, at least, before he went to bed." Another time, during the heaviest rain, thunder, and lightning, Mr. Hutchinson had ever seen, the drums announced the king's intention of going to the market-place ; all his chiefs and attendants being drenched with rain, the king sent for rum and palm wine, and sent them away drunk and dirty.

Mr. Hutchinson mentions, that besides the human sacrifices made for the success of the war, one of the husbands of the king's sisters having died, the king went to the market-place at Coomassie, and sacrificed two men, and that several others were killed by different caboceers. Mr. Hutchinson being sent for by Apokoo, an eminent chief, to see his wives dance, some of them were dressed in great taste : a rich silk cloth, with a bag made of fur, being slung over the right shoulder studded with gold ornaments : on the left shoulder they held a pistol, and in the right hand

a silver bow and arrow. The Shereef Abraham, who came from Boussa, where Mungo Park was drowned, being at Coomassie, was sent for there by the king of Ashantee, on account of his great sanctity, to pray for the success of the war. Not wearing fetiches, as the Moors do, and refusing to be present at human sacrifices, he was not relished by them. He visited Mr. Hutchinson, and would have given him a beautiful copy of the Koran, had not the king requested it for himself; as he said, "that when any trouble came upon him, he might hold it up to God, and beg his mercy and pardon." Shereef Abraham told Mr. Hutchinson, he would get him a small copy of the Koran. By this man, Mr. Hutchinson was taught the Arabic; but this was not very agreeable to the king, as he did not wish the Christian should know how to call on God!

Being once present whilst worship was performing, Mr. Hutchinson observed cow-hides spread for the persons present, and a large one laid in the front for the Raba, one of the principals. Each person having taken off their sandals and prostrated themselves with their faces to the east, the usual call to prayer, and the chorus, the *Allahoo Akabar*, "God is Great," was chanted. Heavy discharges of musketry, and the shouts of the populace, at a distance, now proclaimed the bloody sacrifice was begun; this was felt by the strangers as something solemn and affecting; especially as the vultures and crows were seen wheeling round in the air, expecting their usual share in the banquet. Added to this, as Mr. Hutchinson went home, he passed the headless trunks of two female slaves, laying neglected and exposed, in the market-place, one of whom had been sacrificed by the king—the vultures were already preying on their mangled remains.

Mr. Hutchinson heard that the Sarem Moors use arrows steeped in deadly poison, and that they boiled scorpions, snakes' heads, and the poisonous part of

any reptile, stirring it and repeating incantations. An old woman, who was thus employed, on the Bantama road, would not answer any questions he put to her, but seemed to threaten him, unless he ceased to interrupt her. From an old Moor, Mr. Hutchinson learned, that at Jennie, Sansanding, &c., they call the Nile *Quolla*; and the Joliba they describe as falling into the Quolla, to the east of Tombuctoo. When the Moors were told of the conjecture that this great river of Africa emptied itself into a large lake, they laughed, and objected to the Christians, that if all *small* rivers ran into the sea, the Quolla, being the largest in the world, must go there also. They described it as being about five miles in breadth, and having a very rocky channel, with high and rude shores on each side, and the stream frequently running with great rapidity.

On the 25th of December, Mr. Hutchinson, on account of its being Christmas-day, displayed the British flag, and paid every attention towards it. On this occasion, several of the chiefs sent their compliments, expecting presents; but they did not receive any. A striking instance of the detestation in which milk is held by these people, came under Mr. Hutchinson's own observation. A boy bringing some to him covered up, Apokoo, one of the chiefs, uncovered it, to see what it was, when some of it wetting his fingers, he sent for water, herbs, and several other things, to get rid of this imaginary defilement, and even promised Mr. Hutchinson a present, if he would give over the drinking of milk. He was told, that if he was to send Mr. Hutchinson an ounce of gold every day, he would not do it. Apokoo then cursed the milk, and the boy for bringing it. Some of these people shun a fowl, another hates beef, and others will mutter out a charm if they meet a pig. The Moorish Shereef Abraham one day seeing a piece of pork in Mr. Hutchinson's boy's room, made so much

noise, that it was impossible to appease him, till the pork was ordered away. As it is always customary to sacrifice a number of human victims on certain occasions, but especially for success in war, it appears, that even our resident had a narrow escape from the blind fury and infatuation of these Mahometan idolaters. Upon the eve of the greatest sacrifice, that was made during Mr. Hutchinson's stay there, he understood that the horns of the king would proclaim at the palace-door, "*Wow! wow! wow!*" "*Death! death; death!*" and that while heads were cutting off, the bands would play a peculiar strain. Some further intimation of what was intended, Mr. Hutchinson received a day or two before. When his servants being ordered out of the way, he was nearly thus addressed: "Christian, take care, and watch over your family; the angel of death has drawn his sword, and will strike on the neck of many Ashantees; when the drum is struck on Aday eve, it will be the death-signal of many. Shun the king if you can, but fear not." When Mr. Hutchinson afterwards heard this drum, he was at home, and musing on the horrors of the approaching night, and was rather alarmed, on receiving a summons to attend the king, that being the mode used to cut off any captain or person of rank. The moment they enter the royal residence, it seems, the slaves seize them, pinion their arms, and throw them down; then, if supposed to be desperate characters, a knife is thrust into their mouth, to keep them from swearing the death of any other person. Accordingly, whilst Mr. Hutchinson was with the king, the officers came in with their knives, and a message was sent to a chief, to say, that the king was going to his mother's house to palaver: shortly after, his majesty rose and departed, ordering the attendants to conduct Mr. Hutchinson out by another door. The business of blood, however, went on; those who had done any thing to dis-

please the king, were sent for in succession, and immolated as they entered. The whole of the night the executioners traversed the streets, and dragged every one they met to the palace, where they were put in irons; but as almost every one had fled, the king was disappointed in most of his victims. Next morning, being Aday custom, instead of its bringing immense crowds to the city, every place was silent and forlorn; nothing was brought to market, and the king went to the morning-sacrifice of sheep, &c., attended only by his family and a few of his confidants. The English resident, however, appeared as usual, and the king seemed pleased at his courage; he sat here only a short time. As soon as it was dark, the human sacrifices were renewed, on account, it was said, of the re-interment of the bones of one of the royal family, in the sacred tomb of Bantama. Previous to this, the king, it was observed, took his seat in the market-place, with his few attendants, and death! death! death! was echoed by his horns. Having a silver goblet of palm wine in his hand, when any head was cut off, he imitated a kind of dancing motion in his chair; after his terrors were completed, the chiefs came with confidence from their hiding-places, and paraded the streets, rejoicing that they had escaped death. One whole day, as Mr. Hutchinson dared not send any of his people out to procure any thing, for fear of being murdered, all the family passed the time in the most disagreeable manner imaginable, as there was not even a drop of water in the house; and besides this, Mr. Hutchinson was suffering under a violent fit of the ague, caught by standing too long in the sun the day before, with the king.

From the account given by Mr. Bowdich, of the river Gaboon, and the adjacent country, attached to that of his "Mission to Ashantee," many interesting traits may be collected. Gaboon, it seems, is the

English, but the native name of the country is *Empoongwa*; being about forty miles long, and thirty miles broad. About two miles from the entrance, is an island called Cheendue, where the women are constantly employed in fishing for white mullet. The Intenga, or iron tree, grows out of the water of this river; the people on the east bank are called Sheekans, next to whom are the Jomays; the former bury their dead in the ground under their beds in the houses. About two or three days' voyage up the east arm of the Gaboon, where it is about a mile broad, they land, and proceed to Samashialce, sometimes called Kalay. The people here manufacture iron from the ore, the manner of which they keep a secret from the others on the coast, &c., who, for knives, spears, &c., barter cottons, and other European commodities. The bamboo cloth, made here, resembles coarse brown Holland, and their mats are of a variety of colours, and very fine. It is said, these people are cannibals, and not only eat their prisoners, but sometimes their dead, a father having been seen to eat his own child; and, it is added, they will neither eat fowls nor goats, while human flesh is to be got. The Sheekans would be afraid to venture among these cannibals, if it were not for their fire-arms. Another class, to the north-east of these, are said to sleep all day, and work and travel at night, because the light hurts their eyes. About 100 miles up the Gaboon, is the Woongawoonga, an open level country, abounding with buffaloes; and the Ogopawai, a rapid river frequently as wide as the Gaboon, which winding very much at Eninga, travellers frequently save time by carrying their canoes over the peninsulas, though often opposed by impetuous currents.

Several small kingdoms were discovered, but no great controlling one, like Ashantee.

There appear to be some good reasons, which

make it probable, that the Wolla, or Quolla, is the same river; and all the tribes on the side of the Moohnda, are said to be cannibals, as are Yem Yems, sometimes called the Jum Jums. Kings in Gaboon are so numerous, that they are scarcely equal to the little caboceers in other parts. The title of king being assumed in almost every small village by the greatest trader, or the richest man: these mock monarchs frequently suffer very gross indignities from their subjects, because they have not the power to punish them. The king of Naango, called King George, by the English traders, is the only exception from this. Among their laws a man may not look at, nor converse with his mother-in-law, without being subject to an enormous fine. A man of eminence always hides his face when he drinks before his inferiors, supposing, at this moment, that his enemies have the power, in spite of his fetishe to impose a spell upon his faculties; and, upon the death of a man, the door of the house is kept shut seven days. Naango, though it consists only of one street, is wide, regular, and very clean: the houses being neatly constructed of bamboo; the apartments are spacious and lofty, and the inhabitants sleep on bedsteads, with curtains made of bamboo cloth. As there are no cannibals here, an European might reside very comfortably, if it were not for the dense and insalubrious atmosphere. The Empoongwa is the softest negro language existing. Cotton grows here spontaneously, and a good black dye is made from the mangrove and ebony shavings. Among the animals here, is the African ouran-outang, called *Inchego*, having the cry, visage, and action of an old man, and one of these was very obedient to its master. The ingena of this country is larger than the ouran-outang, being generally five feet high, and four across the shoulders: its paw, also, was said to have been so large, that one blow from it was often fatal. It seizes passengers, but at

it times feeds upon wild honey; its silliness induces it to carry loads of branches from the trees so about the forest, that when fatigued, it is easily n; imitating the natives, they will sometimes d houses, and sleep upon the roof or on the out-

Some large birds were seen in the creeks, which the English were totally unacquainted; banks of these, covered with the mangrove, grew near the water, that their lower branches were recently encumbered with oysters. The red-wood and that from which palm wine is made, were plentiful. Tobacco, which grows spontaneously, is supposed to have been introduced into this ter by the Portuguese. The nut of the neondoo specific medicine for the stone or gravel; the apple produces the common thread used here, that of two other plants will answer the same use. The torches used by the natives are made of the wood called odjoo, the resinous parts of which are tied very closely in dried leaves, the small end is fixed to an upright stick placed in the ground, and they only afford a brilliant light, but also emit a very pleasant smell. The odica, from which chocolate is made, is a large and lofty tree, bearing a bright red leaf; the nuts are white, and are found in a hard pod with a bulb at the end. The kernels of these nuts being strung and smoke-dried, are beat in a mortar in large masses, and have the appearance, though not the taste, of chocolate. The vegetable butter, which is carried to the Ashantee market, is made from a large tree known by the name of onoongo; round red pods of which contain from four to six seeds. The kolla-nut grows on one of those trees, which are supposed to sow their own seed. Soaked in salt-water for a few weeks, the natives relish their flavour, and they form the principal article of food among the lower orders. The fruit resembles our nut-gauge in taste; but if bruised by falling, it is wholesome and loses its flavour. Some credulous

Europeans have imagined, that, on a dark night they could distinguish a diamond mountain, about three days' journey to the eastward from Em-poongwa. This being looked upon by the natives as a holy place, Tom Lawson, who visited it, was obliged to take a circuitous route, which occupied seven days. Some pieces of it, which he obtained, he lost in a scuffle with the natives, on his return. They threw light round a great circumference : it is admitted, that when there was no moon, a pale, but distinct light, was invariably reflected from a mountain in that quarter, and from no other : gold has never been found in this part of Africa.

There are various ways of taking fetish ; one of these consists in licking a white fowl, and drinking a nauseous juice without coughing. The linguists give the fetish to persons tried for crimes, out of a brass pan, in a folded leaf. If the accused party is cleared, the linguists then mark him with white chalk ; he then bows to, and thanks all the great men in the council. But the most infallible test is, the " Taking of Doom," only adopted when a matter is supposed to be too doubtful for human decision. The bark of the doom tree is produced, and then put into a large calabash, with water, which makes a strong infusion, being stirred up. The suspected parties are then made to sip it in their turn. It sometimes produces convulsive motions, and operates immediately as a most violent emetic and purge. It is possible, that those who sip first, may recover ; but it is supposed the dregs are designedly left for the most obnoxious criminals.

The linguists, who have frequently been mentioned, are always attended by upwards of a hundred persons, called *Criers*. These are deformed or maimed, and are rendered more singular in their appearance, by a cap made of a monkey's skin, with a gold plate in front, and the tail hanging down behind. They generally exclaim, " Be silent, Be quiet, Pray hear."

The king of Ashantee appoints a general by giving him a gold-handled sword out of his own hand, and gently striking him with it three times on the head, the general swearing to return it encrusted with the blood of his enemies. The army is always attended by one of the king's linguists, as a kind of commissioner, or negotiator. The Ashantees never pursue at sun-set; the general is always in the rear; the people are led on by the secondary captains; whilst in the rear they are urged forward by a few chosen individuals, with their heavy swords, who cut down any man that attempts to retreat, unless the case is desperate. In a close engagement, the first object of an Ashantee soldier is to fire, and spring upon the throat of his enemy; and, if his commander thinks it possible, he must advance every time he fires. The general has his umbrella spread in the rear, and besides his guard, has several extra muskets ready loaded, for those soldiers who may be driven back in case of a reverse. His band plays all the time, and affecting indifference towards the enemy, it is a part of the etiquette for him to be playing at some game, while the heads of the slain, if of any rank, are sent to him to put his foot upon. When the result of an important action is expected, the king is always seated in public, with his golden *worra* before him, playing with some person of rank.

The horns belonging to all the superior captains, have peculiar flourishes, or strains adapted to short sentences, which are so well known, that any Ashantee in the streets is able to construe and repeat them. The king's horns are made to express, "I pass all kings in the world." Apokoo's, "Ashantees, do you do right, now?" Gimma's, "Whilst I live, no harm can come." Amanqua's, "No one dare trouble." These flourishes are so familiar, that the movements and positions of the various chiefs, are known, when they cannot be

seen: as whether advancing, falling back, or flanking the enemy. As near to midnight as they can judge, the king's horns go to the market-place, and utter a flourish, to which this meaning is attached: "King Sai thanks all his captains, and his people, for to-day."

The laws of the Ashantees, relative to the commerce of the sexes, are unusually rigid; even to praise the beauty of another man's wife, is forbidden, as leading to adultery by implication. Especial privileges, on this head, are reserved for the king's sisters; they may marry, or intrigue, with whom they please, provided always, that they be eminently strong, or personable men.

The strange mixture of savage and civilized habits, of the grotesque and the horrible, the magnificent and the barbarous, form a character no where else to be found; but which, if the new connexion formed with the English, should continue, will, no doubt, be materially softened.

CHAP. XVIII.

Barbary in General—Slaves in Algiers—Signor Pananti's Captivity—Mr. Abraham Salamé—Attack on Algiers by Lord Exmouth—P. G. Dumont's Thirty-four Years' Confinement—Mr. Grey Jackson—City of Morocco—Gardens—Mosques—The Kasseria—Serpents—Shume, or Hot-Wind—Mount Atlas—A Sanctuary.

BEFORE we advert to our recent transactions with Algiers, and the rest of the Barbary powers, which have placed the British on a point of superiority beyond that of any former period since the commencement of our connexion with them, we must observe, that from the residence of our Consuls, some of whom have

possessed considerable literary abilities, and various other causes, our information relative to the Barbary States, is now of undoubted authority.

Barbary, in a general view, comprehends the countries of Morocco and Fez, which form a distinct and separate empire; it also contains the states of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Barca, all of which seem to constitute one great political confederacy, though independent of each other in their internal policy and government. Barbary, containing the ancient Mauritania, Numidia, Africa Proper, and Lybia, commences on the west at Mount Atlas, and extends as far as Alexandria in Egypt, which is its eastern boundary; being nearly two thousand miles from east to west, and at its greatest breadth, seven hundred and fifty from north to south. Algiers, which recent events have rendered more conspicuous than it has been for many years past, was soon after its conquest by the Arabs, divided into four principal provinces, and is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean; on the east by the river Zaire, which separates it from Tunis; on the south by the desert of Zaara, and on the west by the mountains of Trara, which divide the Algerine territory from Morocco. Its extreme length is computed at about four hundred and sixty, and its average breadth at about eighty miles.

The civil government of Algiers is conducted by the Dey, and a council of thirty Bashaws, in which also, on particular occasions, the great ecclesiastical officers are permitted to vote. Every person has a right to vote in the election of a Dey; and as there is generally a variety of candidates, tumults are frequent, and the choice is often decided by the sword. After the Dey is elected, he is saluted by the words *Alla Barek*, or God bless you! The Deys seldom die possessed of the dignity, being generally assassinated, or obliged to abdicate the sovereignty to preserve their lives.

In all records of state the Turkish language is used in Algiers; that of the natives is a mixture of the Arabic, Moorish, and their ancient tongue, supposed to be the Phenician; however, in their commerce with other nations, the *Lingua Franca*, a jargon of Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, and French, is in general use.

The history and character of these inhabitants of the coasts of Barbary have been ably summed up by M. Le. Sage, author of that interesting work the "*Atlas Historique*," published at Paris, in 1805. "These new masters of Africa," he says, "divide, contend with, and weaken each other; Fez, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoly, have risen under the different dynasties. But these may be looked upon rather as tumultuous camps than flourishing cities: these people, destroyers by profession, as well as from choice, despising the fields infest the ocean, especially the Mediterranean, liking better to burn and ravage the harvest fields of the Christians at a distance, than to cultivate and reap their own at home. In fine, after some ages of a dominion that plunged these fine and fertile countries into complete barbarism, the Saracens here were subjugated by the Turks, more barbarous than themselves; and as the Grand Seignior could not preserve such distant conquests, they fell under his lieutenants, who aiming at a state of independence, this gave birth to the present political regime of the coast of Barbary, where the Dey is the tyrant, the Turkish militia the senate, and the inhabitants slaves. Such is the image of that united anarchy which governs like a tumult, takes no care of the land, commits piracy on the seas, calls itself the subject of the Grand Seignior, and obeys no one.

Algiers, which is the capital of the whole kingdom, forms a sort of amphitheatre, presenting a most beautiful view, and is washed on the north and north-east by the Mediterranean sea. This city, said to contain

one hundred thousand Mahometan and fifteen thousand Jewish inhabitants, being erected on the declivity of a hill, on which the houses rise in regular gradation; almost every one of them commands a delightful prospect of the ocean. The walls of the city are about thirty feet high on the ascent, but towards the sea, they are not less than forty, and twelve feet thick, flanked with square towers: there are six gates, all properly fortified and secured. The citadel is of an octagonal form, having port-holes and embrasures in view, and is erected on the most elevated ground within the walls. On the west, the whole city is overlooked by a range of high hills, upon which are erected two forts that command a considerable part of the bay, and the river Rebar, but the strongest fortifications lie next the sea. Algiers contains only one spacious street, running east and west, but it is of unequal width, though broader and more airy than any of the others. Throughout the rest of the town, the streets are so narrow that half a dozen people can scarcely walk abreast, which added to their extreme filthiness, renders them very unpleasant. The houses in Algiers possess a singular convenience, as by means of terraces, the inhabitants can not only visit, but go in a manner from one end of the town to another, as there are ladders for ascending or descending. Notwithstanding this facility there are no house-breakers, and if a stranger should be caught upon any of the houses he would be punished with death. In the centre of the city stands the Dey's palace, a very magnificent edifice; and near the sea-side a great number of mosques, which being elegant structures, contribute greatly to the beautiful appearance of the place.

Till the late signal chastisement was inflicted upon the Algerine pirates, by the gallant Lord Exmouth, the treatment of slaves at Algiers was probably much more severe than it has been since that period. Here many foreigners are still to be commiserated,

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inally relieved seventy of these unhappy men from
the inhumanity of these monsters in human shape.
Captain Croker, on a subsequent day, visited the
prison, where he saw the Christian slaves and the
African driven promiscuously to the same labour, by
the Algerine masters, and was struck with indigna-
tion when they referred him to the British consul to
know that many of them were actually made slaves
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express purpose of supplying our armies with
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him, the British commander, to prevent a scarcity,
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inspection, "This wretched receptacle is placed in
one of the narrow streets of Algiers. On entering
it there is a small square yard, for the slaves to
walk in. In this place they are locked up
every day; on that day, it being the Mahomedan
festival, they do not work, they are allowed nothing
from the Algerine government; but for a single
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as they have not been so fortunate as the victorious English, in obtaining better treatment. Till then, whenever a foreign vessel was in the port, all the slaves in Algiers were loaded with thirty or forty pounds weight of irons, to prevent their escape. Their heaviest labour consisted in dragging immense stones from a neighbouring quarry, for the repair and enlargement of the mole. A body of Turks attended to keep them to their labour, but afforded no aid, unless by continually roaring out "*hyomoly*," heave away, with a noise so tremendous that it was heard at the distance of more than a league.

At night the slaves in Algiers were locked up in two large buildings called *Bagnios*, the lower parts of which were employed for shops, the upper part for the joint accommodation of the captives and of the wild beasts belonging to the Dey. There was no bed in the place, and the slaves were obliged to lie on the floor till their own ingenuity enabled them to erect some humble substitutes for beds.

The daily allowance of food was a pound of very bad bread, and a small quantity of oil. Those who could not bear these accumulated distresses, were carried to the Spanish hospital, the only relief provided for their miseries. When Captain Croker was ordered to Algiers in July 1815, and made inquiries into the situation of the wretched captives, he found, on the authority of the Consuls, that there were some hundreds who had been taken by two Algerine pirates carrying English colours, by which stratagem they were decoyed within their reach. Landed at Bona, these unhappy people had been driven to Algiers like a herd of cattle: Such as were no longer able to walk had been tied on mules, and many had who become more enfeebled were murdered without any ceremony. On their journey fifty-nine expired. One youth fell dead at the very moment they brought him to the feet of the Dey; but within six days after their arrival at Algiers, death

kindly relieved seventy of these unhappy men from the inhumanity of these monsters in human shape. Captain Croker, on a subsequent day, visited the quarries, where he saw the Christian slaves and the mules driven promiscuously to the same labour, by their Algerine masters, and was struck with indignation when they referred him to the British consul to prove that many of them were actually made slaves whilst sailing under English passports, granted for the express purpose of supplying our armies with grain. When the island of Ponza was surrendered to Britain, the British commander, to prevent a scarcity, granted the inhabitants passports to different places to procure grain; but when met by the Algerines, the latter threw the British flag into the sea, and dragged them into captivity. The prison for Christian slaves, Captain Croker has described from his own observation, "This wretched receptacle is placed in one of the narrow streets of Algiers. On entering the gate there is a small square yard, for the slaves to walk about in. In this place they are locked up every Friday; on that day, it being the Mahomedan sabbath, they do not work, they are allowed nothing but water by the *Algerine government*; but for a single pound of bread, which they then received, they are indebted to a charitable foundation by a Turkish *Agha*, who, having in his youth endured the misery of bondage, left at his death a rent-charge upon his real property, consecrated to that pious purpose. Hence it is worthy of remark that, even under the law of Mahomet, the first that contributed to the relief of the poor white slaves, was an Algerine Agha; and that the tyrannical power which holds them in bondage, nevertheless, watches over the faithful application of this testamentary bequest. But to return to the prison itself; from this place Captain Croker ascended by a stone staircase into a gallery, around which were rooms with naked earthen floors and damp stone walls. Each

room is furnished with an iron-grated window and a strong door ; two of them contained twenty-four things resembling cot-frames with twigs, interwoven in the middle ; these were hung up one above another round the room, and those slaves alone were admitted to the luxury of such a bed, as could afford to pay for it. If these abominable cells had light, Captain Croker thinks they would most resemble the houses in which the negroes in the West Indies keep their pigs. The stench was so intolerable the Captain and his company could scarcely endure it ; one gentleman nearly fainted. The slaves' daily-bread is made up of two black loaves of half a pound each, but those that work at the Marina, obtain ten olives a day.

The Spanish hospital, so called from being supported by the government of Spain, was also visited by Captain Croker. Its floors he saw covered with unhappy beings of every age, and of both sexes, men at the age of sixty, and children not more than eight ; the whole of them had their legs swelled and cut in such a manner as seemed to defy recovery. There, among several Sicilian females, he saw a poor woman, who burst into tears, and telling him she was the mother of eight children, requested him to look at six of them, who had been slaves with her for thirteen years ! Leaving these scenes of horror and going into the country, he met the slaves that had been sent out, returning from their labour ; some of these were heavily ironed, and they were attended by infidels, with large whips. Most of the women he saw had been procured by descents upon the Italian coasts ; their fate as well as that of their children, is dreadful almost beyond conception. This wretched prison is called the *Bani*.

Notwithstanding the recent humiliation of the Algerines by British arms, their politics, it is feared, are purely piratical, and founded upon the law of the strongest. They will cease to rob only when they can

rob no longer, and recommence their depredations as soon as they are able. A British consul, having remonstrated with a Dey of Algiers on the lawlessness of his corsairs, he exclaimed with much candour, "My good friend, what avails this long story? the Algerines are thieves, and I am their captain." The code of Algiers is curious. If the owner of a corsair loses it, he is obliged to build another. All prisoners are considered as dead, till ransom is proposed. Whatever damage is done by bombardment, &c., the sufferers are obliged to replace, or otherwise, all that they have left is confiscated.

The wretched treatment of the slaves here, is further described by Signor Pananti's account of his late captivity in Algiers. After a long residence in England, to which he became cordially attached, he unfortunately embarked in a Sicilian vessel, which was captured by the pirates that have so long infested the shores of Italy, and carried into Algiers. Amongst the sharers in this calamity were Messrs. Torreni, the Chevalier Rossi, his lady, who was an English woman, their two children, and several other respectable passengers. The most interesting individual of the party was a Sicilian girl returning to Palermo, with the expectation of being united to the man of her choice. The fate of this unfortunate girl is truly affecting, and forms a tragedy of real life, to which Pananti has done ample justice. On their arrival at Algiers, the captives were conducted to the court of the regency, of which the author gives the following description. "A large awning being extended in front of the house, the scene shortly opened, exhibiting the members of the council, in barbarous pomp and horrid majesty, seated before us, accompanied by the Ulemas or expounders of the law, and the principal agas of the divan. We were then, without further ceremony or preamble, asked for our papers, which were duly examined; nor was that canting gravity wanting on

this occasion, which is usually assumed to justify acts of cruelty and rapine. The papers were then presented to the English Consul, whose presence is always required on these occasions, to verify any claim he may have to make. This gentleman soon saw the insufficiency of our documents, but stimulated by the goodness of his heart, and sentiments of pity for persons in our unhappy condition, he made every possible exertion to extricate us from the appalling dilemma with which we were now threatened. Even the circumstance of some of the party being natives of a country united to the dominion of France, did not restrain the Consul's generous exertions. The captives were unfortunate, and that was enough to ensure the protection of an Englishman; but Kais Hamela, one of the leading members of the Divan, strenuously maintained the remorseless laws of piracy, drawing the finest distinction imaginable between domiciliation and nationality; and according to the African code, proved himself an able juris-consult. "A good prize! Slaves! Prisoners!" was now murmured through the council, and soon communicated to the crowd assembled without, which, by its cries and vociferations, seemed to rejoice in such a determination. The British Consul then formally demanded the English lady and her two children; upon this being accorded, the Chevalier Rossi, her husband, advanced a few steps and supported his claim to liberation, on the ground of having married an Englishwoman, and being also the father of two British subjects; this application being successful, he soon rejoined his anxious wife and children. Another attempt was now made by the Consul, in favour of the whole party, but without effect, and this was followed by a cry in the hall of *schiairi! schiairi!* slaves! slaves! which horrible sound was echoed by the multitude; the members of the council then rose, and the assembly was dissolved. The Consul and his attendants, to-

gether with the Chevalier Rossi, had departed before the rest had recovered from their astonishment ; however, they were soon led off by a Basha and a guard, who conducted them, attended by a great number of spectators, through part of the city ; and it being Friday, the Moorish sabbath, hundreds of people, coming from the Mosques, were attracted from every quarter to view this new spectacle of degraded Christians. When they arrived at Pashalick, or the palace of the Basha, the first objects that struck their attention were six bleeding heads, ranged along before the entrance ; a sight that was still further aggravated by the necessity of their stepping over them, in order to pass into the court. Having been exhibited to the Dey, Signor Pananti and his companions were conducted to the gloomy prison allotted to Christian slaves. In passing through the dark and filthy courtyard before described, they were surrounded by a multitude of slaves, bearing about them all the signs of abandoned sufferers ; they were ragged, lank, and haggard, with the head drooping ; eyes sunk and distorted ; and cheeks imprinted by the furrow of protracted wretchedness, which seemed to have withered the soul, and, by destroying the finer impulses of nature, left no trace of pity for the sufferings of others ; so that the new comers passed without the slightest manifestation of that sympathy so naturally expected in such a situation. By the benevolent exertions of Mr. Macdonald, the British Consul, Signor Pananti was, however, soon released from captivity ; and the subsequent period of his stay in Algiers, he employed in collecting much valuable information respecting the present state of Barbary, including copious details of its natural and political history.

The circumstance of a slave's liberation without ransom, so soon after his captivity, was almost unique in the annals of Algiers ; and Signor Pananti's account of his feelings on this occasion, is marked with

all the vivacity and eloquence of the country which gave him birth.

The number of victims of different nations captured on the same cruise as that in which Pananti and his companions were made prisoners, amounted to two hundred. This was about two years before Lord Exmouth's attack upon Algiers; but by the successful issue of that enterprise Pananti's friends, as well as several hundred other captives, were then set at liberty.

We have now the pleasure of detailing the manner in which the liberation of these unhappy captives was effected, and to add many particulars to the accounts published by authority, from the testimony of an eyewitness.

Previous to the attack made upon the fort and city of Algiers in 1816, Mr. Abraham Salamé, as interpreter to Lord Exmouth, with two other persons, was sent on shore in company with a lieutenant, with his Lordship's *ultimatum* to the Dey, having orders not to remain longer than two hours. The time being expired, and no reply made, the signal was hoisted that no answer had been given, and the boat with these messengers began to row away towards the Queen Charlotte. At this time Mr. Salamé acknowledged he was very anxious to get out of danger, for knowing the perfidious character of the Algerines, and seeing that Lord Exmouth had given orders to the fleet to bear up, and every ship take her position for the attack, he was much afraid the Algerines would fire upon the boat. In fact, he owns that till he got on board the Queen Charlotte he was more dead than alive; but was quite surprised to see how his Lordship was altered from what he left him in the morning. He knew his manner was all mild, but now he seemed to him all *fightful*, as a fierce lion which had been chained to his cage and set at liberty. His lordship's answer to me was, "Never mind, we shall see now;" and at

the same time he turned towards the officers and said, "Be ready." Upon which Mr. Salamé saw every one standing with the match or string of the lock in his hand most anxiously waiting for the word "*fire*." During this time the Queen Charlotte, in a most gallant and astonishing manner, took up a position opposite the head of the mole, and the anchor was let go at three quarters past two o'clock, within eighty yards from the mole-head batteries; but afterwards, having found that they had not more than two feet water under the bottom of the Queen Charlotte, his Lordship let go the cable for twenty yards more. Lord Exmouth's position was taken in such an excellent style, that not more than four or five guns could bear upon the Queen Charlotte from the mole, though she was exposed to the fire of all their other batteries and musketry. The English then gave the enemy three cheers, and the batteries as well as the walls being crowded with troops, they jumped on the top of the parapets to look at their assailants, whose broadside was higher than their batteries, and must have been surprised to see a three-decker with the rest of the fleet so close to them. From what Mr. Salamé had observed of the captain of the port's manner, and of their confusion inside of the mole, he was quite sure they were not aware of what they were about, nor of what Lord Exmouth intended to do, thinking he would be terrified by their fortifications, and not advance so rapidly and closely to the attack. In proof of this, he also observed, that at this point their guns were not even loaded, till the Queen Charlotte and almost all the fleet had passed the batteries. At a few minutes before three, the Algerines from the eastern battery fired the first shot at the Impregnable, which, with the *Superb* and *Albion*, was astern of the other ships, to prevent them from coming in. Then Lord Exmouth, having only seen the smoke of the guns before the sound reached him, said, with great alacrity, "That

will do; fire, my fine fellows." Mr. Salamé is sure; that before his Lordship had finished these words, the broadside was given with the greatest cheerfulness, which was fired three times within five or six minutes; and at the same instant the other ships did the same. The first fire was so terrible, that it is said, more than five hundred persons were killed or wounded by it. This Mr. Salamé believed, because there was a great crowd of people in every part, many of whom, after the first discharge, he saw running away under the walls, and, like dogs, walking upon their hands and feet. The attack taking place on both sides in this horrible manner, the sky was darkened by the smoke, the sun completely eclipsed, and the horizon made dreary. Mr. Salamé being exhausted by the powerful sun to which he had been exposed the whole day, his ears deafened by the roar of the guns, and finding himself in the dreadful danger of such an engagement in which he had never been before, he was quite at a loss, like an astonished or stupid man, and did not know himself where he was. At last Lord Exmouth, having perceived his situation, said, "You have done your duty, now go below." Upon which Mr. Salamé began to descend from the quarter-deck, quite confounded and terrified, not sure he should reach the cockpit alive; for it was most tremendous to hear the crushing of the shot, to see the wounded men brought from one part, and the killed from another; and especially at such a time to be among *English seamen*! and to witness their cheerfulness during the battle. Whilst he was going below, he was stopped by a crowd of seamen who were carrying two wounded men to the cockpit, and he had leisure to observe the management of the heavy guns on the lower deck. The people at the two guns nearest the hatchway wanted wadding, and began to call *wadding, wadding*; but not having it immediately, two of them, swearing, took out their knives and cut

off the breasts of their jackets, and rammed them into the guns. Such magnanimity astonished Mr. Salamé.

After the battle, when the ships had hauled out beyond the reach of danger, Salamé ventured on deck to observe the effects of the shot upon the enemy's batteries, where, instead of walls, he saw nothing but heaps of rubbish, and a number of people dragging the dead bodies out.

After they had anchored, Lord Exmouth having ordered his steward in the morning to keep several dishes ready, gave a grand supper to the officers of the ship, and drank to the health of every brave man in the fleet.

The joy of upwards of three thousand slaves who were liberated on this occasion, some of whom had been more than thirty years in confinement, it is more easy to conceive than to express. Among these persons so long deprived of liberty and its comforts, and whose deliverance followed as one of the natural consequences of Lord Exmouth's victory, none of their cases are, perhaps, more striking than that of the Frenchman P. G. Dumont. According to his narrative, recently published at Paris, he was born in that city in 1768, and entering into the naval service with M. de Ternay, a rear-admiral, he was with him more than a year, and was a witness of the engagement between Lord Rodney, on the 12th of April, 1782, and Count de Grasse. The ship to which Dumont belonged was ordered home; but happening to meet a small English squadron near Oporto, she was chased into the straits of Gibraltar, and took shelter under the batteries of Algeiras. Here Dumont was transferred to another vessel, and having quitted her for the service of the Count d'Artois, then superintending the siege of Gibraltar, he returned, to the same ship as a domestic of the Marquis de Montmery, aid-de-camp to the commander-in-chief, who

was in reserve for most of them.

The ferocious wretches on shore having the result of the tempest, glorying in the booty it afforded them, rushed down mountains upon these unfortunate men, and the greatest part of those who had saved from a watery grave. In vain they endeavored to defend themselves, having no other weapons than the barbarians' than sand and stones. Dupre, the body of his master hacked to pieces, after long and courageously struggled with his adversary, became so enraged, that in the absence of more offensive arms, he took advantage of what was within his reach, and throwing handfuls of sand into the eyes of his enemies, and biting several on the legs, he at length succeeded in detaching them from the barbarians from their Arab chargers into the sea. But this advantage was dearly purchased, for he instantly received several blows of a sabre on the arms and shoulders: a lance pierced his body





A Natives

p. 105



Mandarin

p. 106

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on shore, about thirty remained with him, all more or less wounded; but scarcely had day-light dawned, when the barbarians returned at full gallop, and soon collecting the remnant of their victims, they bound their arms across each other, and they were attached to their horses' tails with a long cord. The reason of their lives being spared, Dumont imputed to a point in the Mahomedan law, forbidding the assassination of Christians except at night. When this injunction is disregarded, the Sheik generally inflicts the punishment of death upon his vassals; however, he gives ten dollars for every Christian that is brought to him.

Several of the party thus dragged along, died from weakness and suffering. The rest marched eight nights successively, the Arabs not daring to travel in the day, lest some others should deprive them of their prisoners, and thus obtain the proffered reward. During the day, while the prisoners encamped in the woods, their whole sustenance consisted of a little bread and water, scarcely sufficient to keep life together. The last stage, as the Arabs considered themselves out of danger, was marched during the day, and the party arrived at Mount Felix on the evening of the ninth day. The sheik Osman, who resides here, has many inferior sheiks under him, and the Arabs of the mountains, under them, live in *Adowars*, a name given to several tents, containing from forty to fifty persons. Each family composes an *Adowar*; and there are no houses hereabout, except the palace of Osman, and the prison for his slaves. Osman lives in a palace built of stone, two stories high, and terminating in a terrace. Three hundred women are shut up in it, and attended by an equal number of their own sex. They are allowed to walk in the garden, which is very extensive, but the height of the walls prevents the possibility of their seeing beyond them. Osman, to whom the

captives were presented, the day after their arrival, is described as a fine looking man, about five feet eight inches high, and about fifty-five years of age. His first question was, "What country?" And being answered, Frenchmen; "*French*," said he, "Frenchmen, *without faith, laws, spiteful devils!* let them be chained." His order was no sooner given, than it was put into execution. Dupont was, by this time, a perfect cripple, and three of his companions, little better, died some days after they arrived. The living prisoners being stripped of their clothes, they threw a small coarse woollen shirt over each of them, which did not quite reach the knee. They were then bound together, two and two, by a large chain, nearly ten feet long, weighing sixty pounds: this was fixed to the ankle by a heavy clasp, in the form of a horse-shoe, and rivetted, so as to render escape next to impossible. In order to diminish the fatigue of dragging the chain along the ground, each man procured a sash, made of twigs or hemp, with which he tied several links up to his middle, thus leaving a festoon of five feet between himself and companion. This contrivance did not prevent them from working together, and they were inseparable till one of the party was exchanged for another, either through sickness, or with a view to his receiving some punishment. Thus, nearly naked, and loaded with irons, they were conducted to the prison within half a league of the palace. The former building is very long, and bears a striking resemblance to a stable; and at the time of the arrival of this party, it contained about two thousand slaves, though it would easily accommodate double that number. The walls are about forty feet high, and eight in breadth; the roof is like those in Europe, except in its being covered with planks, overlaying each other, like slated houses in France. The ceiling is composed of mortar, made of lime and sand, and though there are many win-

dows, secured by large bars of iron, the prison is very dark. These openings, which, it seems, are only breast high, enable the captives to see the various beasts of prey that are nightly allured by the odour of so many human bodies shut up together, being frequently seen within a few yards of the grating; their roaring is also heard for hours together, spreading terror and dismay among the horses and other domestic animals. These windows are separated by an interval of ten feet each.

There are a great number of turrets, built on the top of the walls, each large enough to contain fifteen persons, but these are inhabited by the keepers, and the communication with them is by a ladder that rises and falls like a draw-bridge. Here the keepers have fires to boil their coffee, and some of these keep watch, whilst the others are employed in superintending the working parties, constantly armed, and without ever taking off their clothes. Their muskets, loaded with rock-salt, they frequently discharge at any of the slaves who happen to be noisy or disorderly; and during the night they often cry out, "*Take care of the Christians.*" In the middle of this wretched prison, a channel is cut that receives any filth that descends from it on each side, as the bottom shelves off towards the centre. The water for drinking is kept in several tanks, formed of bullocks' hides, suspended from the walls at one end of the prison, and supplied from springs in the neighbourhood. The mode of drawing the water from these tanks is by a spigot and faucet, fixed on the skin of one of the bullock's fore feet.

On the arrival of this fresh party at this abode of misery, the slaves seemed to be greatly pleased with the sight of so many new companions. The chain being then disengaged from their hips, it was secured to an iron ring and padlock, about three feet from the ground; a little straw was allowed them to lie on,

and each slave had a stone for a pillow ; they were also permitted to sleep if they could, but this was extremely difficult, owing to the quantity of different vermin that fell from the ceiling, and crawled about them in every direction. These, on starting from sleep, the unhappy captives destroyed by handfuls. In the morning, the bodies of the prisoners were covered with blotches of a dark putrid hue, and full of blood. In fact, they hardly knew whether to laugh or cry, on thus beholding themselves, among 2,000 human beings, almost naked, and with beards of a frightful length, and many of whom began the morning's occupation with drinking copious draughts of water out of human skulls, for want of more convenient vessels. We may add to this horrid scene, that the eleven first years of Dumont's captivity passed without seeing a single new slave ; but this long interval was at last interrupted by the appearance of a Spaniard, who was brought in amongst them,

Although Dumont's wounds, particularly that given by the lance, were excessively painful, he was obliged to go to work like the rest every morning, also to collect, for it was thrown to them as if they were dogs, three ears of Indian corn daily to serve for breakfast, dinner, and supper. This is generally pounded and then mixed up with water, if that can be procured, but the keepers will not allow the slaves any for this purpose whilst out in the fields. Dumont having assisted, with several others, in drawing a cart, was taken back at night, worn out with fatigue, and dreadfully bruised by the blows he had received from the keepers, as their rule is never to address a Christian, without at the same time, having recourse to the whip. An Italian, who happened to be chained near Dumont, was so touched with his sufferings, that he procured some hemp, which being steeped in the water of marsh mallows, was frequently applied to the lance wound, and though the most ex-

cruciating pain attended this process, he soon found himself entirely recovered. It now only remained for him to extract the pistol-ball from his leg, which had also been extremely painful; but this he fortunately effected by the aid of an old knife, and, when once out, the wound soon closed. Among 2,000 slaves there were a number of old men who had only half chains put upon them, and they were employed in clearing and sweeping the prison, drawing water from the skins, burning the vermin with torches of lighted straw, &c. Thus it was that the old men were worse off than their younger brethren, as, in addition to the ill usage they receive, they are in fact the slaves of other slaves, who frequently spit in their faces, or throw stones at them. When no longer able to work, these old slaves are shot by the keepers, and their bodies being thrown out into an adjoining field, they are generally torn in pieces immediately by lions, tigers, and leopards; and it is mentioned, as by no means unfrequent for panthers, wolves, and wild-boars, to contend for carcasses thus exposed, and which used to be a source of great amusement to the ignorant Arabs, who would sometimes exclaim, "Do you see that Christian? God knows nothing of him, or he would not let him be devoured." It was mostly the skulls of those shot by the keepers that served as drinking vessels and other utensils for the slaves; for the body of any one committing suicide was carried to the top of a neighbouring mountain, and there devoured. Such an event never happened without being followed by the infliction of many blows on the persons of those nearest the man who had hung himself, which was the most common mode of self-destruction. According to these maxims, that made it the interest of every one to prevent the escape of another, even by death, it soon came to Dumont's turn to save a young Italian seaman, a comrade of his, who, in consequence of having formed a resolution to die, contrived to hang himself

while unobserved, soon after dark, one Friday night; but the cord being weak, Dumont found very little difficulty in pulling him down by a sudden shake. The consequence of this to the Italian was, that he carried his head awry nearly two months after. The same whim happening to seize him some time after, as Dumont, in attempting to prevent him from effecting his purpose, received a severe kick in the stomach, just as he threw himself off, the Frenchman resolved to let him hang undisturbed till daylight, when the usual penalty of a bastinado was followed by his being forced to carry the body off upon his shoulders. Another of his comrades, who fell sick, was shot by one of the keepers, and his skull served Dumont to drink out of fourteen years; and, after his liberation, he brought it with him to Marseilles. He lost three companions in all, during his captivity, two of whom were shot, and the third was the Italian before-mentioned. To prevent plots, they took care never to chain up a Frenchman with Dumont; however, in avoiding this, he had an opportunity of learning several languages; and upon his return to France, he could speak the Arabic, the English, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, with as much facility as French. He also learned a little German and Dutch.

The slaves here generally rose at two in the morning, to avoid the bastinado applied by large supple canes, kept steeped in water, to prevent their getting too light. Some work in the sheik's garden, others hew wood, till the ground, or draw, yoked to a plough. Dumont, with five or six others were frequently employed five or six leagues from the prison in ploughing. During this time, it was customary for several of the Arabs to form a circle round them, not to prevent their escape, but to protect them from beasts of prey, some of which were constantly on the watch to seize the unarmed. But though 150 men were constantly on the look out to watch over a hun-

dred, it did not always prevent the hungry lion from carrying off his prey: this was the case with an unfortunate Spaniard, who merely happened to go the length of his chain from his companion, when suddenly a lion rushed from a thicket, and seized the man. The alarm was immediately given, and the ferocious animal was surrounded and shot, but too late for saving the poor Spaniard's life, his entrails being completely torn out at once. It is remarked that the cries of men drive beasts of prey back into the woods, whereas they are attracted by the sound of fire-arms, as if curiosity formed some part of their instinct.

As the prison allowance was totally inadequate to satisfy the demands of hunger, while performing such severe labour, they were under the necessity of using all the means in their power to alleviate their sufferings. Therefore at noon, when the keepers were engaged in the religious ceremony of ablution; or if no water could be found, in rubbing the body with a stone, ceremonies which nothing could induce them to omit; this proved the invariable signal of foraging to the slaves, who instantly spread themselves, and seized every thing they could lay their hands upon. For this they generally paid by being pelted by their keepers, with volleys of stones, kept in bags suspended from the saddles of the barbarians' horses, which after they were brought back, was followed by the application of the bastinado. On one occasion, Dumont was fortunate enough to steal a sheep, which enabled him to regale the two slaves who slept next him in the prison for a whole week; the skin of which he sold for an old copper kettle, which induced them to stew the bones and make a very good soup. Dumont, however, was doomed to pay for this indulgence, by sustaining a few hundred blows from one of his keepers. The intolerable thirst which the prisoners frequently suffer is assuaged by chewing some

straw, or keeping an olive-stone in their mouths. To get rid of the heat that incommoded them it was usual for each slave to cover his head with a wreath of leaves, while his beard generally shielded his breast: that of Dumont reached to his middle.

Once, when the prison took fire, though no lives were lost, nearly all the prisoners had their hair and beards burnt off. Their water being used in extinguishing the fire they were left without a drop for several hours; and this horrible scene was followed by a general distribution of the bastinado, which the keepers applied to some for not foreseeing the accident, and to others, because they would have gladly taken advantage of the general confusion to have made their escape.

The barbarous keepers generally punished those slaves the most who seemed the most affected by it. Dumont, to save himself, frequently assumed a cheerful air, singing, &c. "This fellow," the keepers sometimes exclaimed, "is made of iron; it is of no use to punish him."

The arrival of a prince, who came from Morocco to collect the annual tribute at Mount Felix, indirectly involved Dumont in a series of persecutions from his keeper. Having contrived to excite the prince's compassion in favour of his companions, the former gave them a hundred sequins; but imprudently neglecting to let the keeper partake of this bounty, it exposed him to the most cruel treatment imaginable. Unable to endure this severity, he formed the resolution of being revenged, and accordingly when next struck by the latter, he seized a large stone and threw it at him with such force, that the keeper's eye was forced out of its socket. Upon this and without giving the enemy time to breathe, Dumont flew at him like a tiger, and remained fixed to his body, till the united blows of the whole posse of keepers obliged him to let go his hold. Being taken before Osman,

his act of mutiny, the result was much more arable than Dumont expected; he was con-
ned to receive a hundred blows on the palm of
eft hand, but the keeper was hanged on the
est tree, "for having preferred money to the law
lahomet." Such were the words of Osman on
g orders for his execution. Dumont, now unable
rsue the labours of the field, was employed to
a grindstone, in which he continued more than
elvemonth exposed to the insults of all the Mo-
etans for causing the keeper to be put to death.
ce they seldom failed to express their resentment
requent kicks, abuse, spitting in his face, &c. The
e of executing a keeper who has suffered a slave
cape, &c., is by making him kneel down between
persons, one of whom pierces his side with a
e; this causes him to raise his head, upon which
other takes it off with a single blow of a Damas-
blade. It sometimes happens that this comes in
act with a bone, when a sound is produced like
of a small bell. Osman has two sons, fine looking
g men, who sometimes visited the prison, but only
iew their dexterity in using the attaghan and the
itar! One of the most barbarous employ-
ts allotted to the slaves, was that of carrying large
s of wheat for a distance of several miles from im-
se granaries, some of which are stated to be
ty feet deep, sometimes extending over a whole
. It is added, that the corn keeps here for ten or
ve years, as fresh as if it had been deposited a few
ths. Whenever a slave was induced to embrace
Mahometan faith, his chain was removed, and he
allowed to marry, besides other advantages. How-
the example of a Fleming is mentioned, who
ng changed his religion, continued rigidly to
rve all the rules of his new faith, till at length he
induced by the example of some Jews, to make
ree with the brandy bottle, and being taken in the

very act, he was impaled alive, living thirty-six hours in this horrible state. This example, it was thought, put a check upon Mahometan conversions from the Christian creed. Some of Dumont's companions had been in slavery upwards of fifty years, and were totally insensible to the horrors of their situation ; on the contrary they looked forward to their turn for being shot, and given to the beasts of prey, with equal indifference, and the most settled composure.

It was observed that whenever a slave did not exert himself at the hour of foraging, it was a sure indication of his being tired of life. The natives, however, never commit self-murder ; but when weary of life, they merely go into the forests, where the lions and tigers soon save them the trouble of despatching themselves. This was also the case with the women, who happened to be discharged from Osman's seraglio on account of old age, or any decay of their personal attractions. Dumont had the good fortune to accompany the Sheik in one of his predatory excursions towards the territories of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoly, and Constantina. This was a most delightful time for the slaves, who, though they had great fatigues to sustain, had plenty of good eating and drinking. Osman, from motives of pure devotion, is said to have pillaged every one that came in his way, in order that he might make the more acceptable offerings at Mecca ; and his soldiers, not less ferocious than their master, sometimes cut off the ears of the women to get at the rings, &c., that hung from them.

Although subjected to violent storms of thunder, and heavy rain, during a part of the year, vegetation is represented as most abundant, while poultry and sheep seem to be another great source of support to the population.

The chief articles of trade, are oil, honey, wool, skins, wax, elephants' teeth, carpets, &c., these are exchanged for glass beads, watches, clocks, and other

European commodities. The whole of their commerce is carried on through the medium of the Jews, otherwise, it is probable, that the productions would be suffered to perish, sooner than the Arabs would be persuaded to give it up to the Christians. Justice is very frequently administered with rigid exactness among these rude bigots to the Mahometan faith; but it is very seldom tempered with mercy. Osman's treatment of Dumont's keeper has been already mentioned. A farmer, it also appears, having lent one of his sons a sum of money, on the latter's marrying, not being able to get it back again, applied to the sheik for redress, who told him he might treat the debtor as he pleased. Satisfied with this authority, the son was bound hand and foot, taken into a large open space, and immolated by the hand of his own father. Six months after this atrocious deed, Osman sent for the monster who had committed it, obtained from him two large tributes, and, finding he had no more to give, ordered him to be hung.

A very extraordinary circumstance gave rise to Dumont's removal from Mount Felix, after he had been thirty-three years in the hands of the barbarians. It seems one Manet, a Frenchman, had turned Mahometan, and assumed the name of Ali; and as he understood the making of gunpowder, he stood very high in the good graces of the sheik Osman. However, having the curiosity to peep through the lattice of his master's seraglio, and to be discovered by him, death would have followed, had it not been for his usefulness as before mentioned; and, therefore, his punishment was commuted for fifteen hundred blows with the bamboo; a thousand of which were inflicted on his back, and the rest on the soles of his feet. Ali, as he was called, was also stripped of his wealth, and only suffered to retain his horse and arms. This comparative mildness of his punishment did not prevent Ali from retaining a considerable degree of

resentment against the sheik. Four months after his cure, it seems, Osman ordered Ali to prepare a vast quantity of gunpowder for an expedition, the object of which was to surprise the Dey of Algiers, and force a tribute from him and his allies. Enchanted with the knowledge of such an important secret, the Frenchman immediately conceived the idea of turning it to his own advantage. With this view he left his horse at an adowar, of which he was the governor, and on telling Osman that the animal was dead, he received another to supply its place. This was conducted to the adowar, where Ali mounted his own charger, and rode off at full gallop. On passing the prison, he cried out *adieu*, loud enough to be heard by several of the slaves, though none suspected where he was going at the time. When Manet was missing, it was supposed, after a few days, that he had fallen a sacrifice to the beasts of prey. In the mean while this fugitive was traversing a hundred and twenty leagues of a country full of trackless forests, many lofty mountains, and wild beasts out of number. Having arrived at Gigeri, between Algiers and Tunis, he communicated to the Bey the important secret, recommending him to be on his guard, as the army of Osman, headed by his two sons, would attack him in a few days. The Bey lost no time in forwarding this intelligence to his ally and friend the Dey of Algiers; Manet, however, was detained, and told that if his information proved correct, he should have a place worthy of such a service, and if otherwise, that his head would be chopped off. In consequence of the intelligence he caused to be spread, the forces of Oran, Constantina, and Gegeri, were ordered forward to meet the enemy; the two former were defeated, and put to the rout; but those of Gegeri, being more fortunate, obtained a complete victory over the invaders, killing vast numbers, and making several thousand prisoners, amongst whom were the sheik's

two sons. The conqueror was on the point of beheading these two illustrious captives, when one of them having supplicated him to consent to their being exchanged for five hundred Christian slaves, it was agreed to, and Dumont being among the number, he ultimately reached Algiers, where, as we have before observed, he was most fortunately liberated, in consequence of Lord Exmouth's gallant and successful attack on the piratical city; whence, being embarked on board an English frigate, in company with several hundred ransomed captives, he was conveyed to Naples, and given up to the French Ambassador. Having proceeded to Paris, and his story being authenticated, it gave occasion to the publication of the narrative from which this account is taken.

CHAP. XIX.

The Sailing of the Medusa for Africa—Imprudence of the Captain—The Vessel stranded—A Raft—Deserted by their own Boats—Want of a Compass—Situation terrible—Affecting Discovery—Shocking Effects of Famine—Dead Bodies eaten—A Mutiny—Death of a promising Youth—Sick thrown overboard alive—Discovery of a Vessel, and Disappointment—Ultimately taken up by the French brig Argus—Cruelty of the Governor of Senegal—Major Peddie and Captain Campbell.

THE reader will soon perceive in the following narrative of a voyage to Senegal, that the hardships endured by Riley, Adams, or Dumont, on the coast of Africa, were much exceeded by those of the crew of the French frigate Medusa, the latter being almost unequalled in the history of human calamity.

The expedition of which the Medusa frigate formed a part, sailed on the 17th of June, 1816, from the

roads of the island of Aix, to take possession of the Western Coast of Africa, from Cape Blanco to the mouth of the river Gambia, in pursuance of the treaty of peace in 1815, by which the English secured to the French the possession of that part of Africa, according to a treaty respecting it in 1783. The *Medusa* was commanded by Captain Chaumareys, who was also the commander of the expedition, of which the *Echo* corvette, the flute *La Loire*, and the *Argus* brig, formed the remaining vessels. Captain Chaumareys almost immediately began to give strong proofs of nautical ignorance, accompanied with all the conceit and obstinacy which generally attend ignorance of every description. On the 1st of July, they passed the Tropic, and the Captain, more occupied with the customary jokes of the sailors on that occasion, than with the care of the ship, suffered her to near a reef of rocks, from running on which she was rescued only by the spirit and promptness of two officers, who suddenly changed her course, without consulting him on the subject. The danger, however, was only deferred. That night, they parted company with the *Echo*, the only vessel which had kept up with them, the commander most unjustifiably outsailing the others, in order that he might proceed to Senegal alone. The signals of this vessel, the officers on the watch unpardonably neglected even to answer. In the morning she was not to be seen, having gone on a different tack, during the night; but Captain Chaumareys seemed to care very little about the matter, his attention being taken up with a large cloud, which certain of the officers wished to persuade him was Cape Blanco itself. The scorn which this ignorance excited in the minds of the more experienced seamen, was soon suspended by a sense of the danger to which it exposed them, and of which they soon became fully sensible. The colour of the water, the appearance of sand among the little

waves, the sea-weed at the ship's side, and a quantity of fish that was caught, announced to the ensign of the watch, that they were in shallow water; and, upon sounding, he found that the lead, instead of shewing eighty fathoms of water, as the persons most in the confidence of the Captain, positively asserted would be the case, gave only eighteen. Immediately there commenced a series of manœuvres, which were performed with a rapidity that must have saved the vessel, had they been of a right kind. In ten minutes from the time of taking soundings, the vessel struck, and, unhappily, just at the time of high water; at a season, too, when the tides were at the highest, and when, consequently, every moment made a fatal difference to the unhappy crew.

The Medusa stranded on the 2d of July, at a quarter after three in the afternoon, in $19^{\circ} 36'$ north latitude, and $19^{\circ} 45'$ west longitude, and filled the whole crew with the utmost consternation. Many gave themselves up to despair, but more uttered imprecations upon those whose ignorance had been so fatal to them. Two women alone are said to have been the only persons insensible of the disaster, and these were the wife and daughter of the Governor of Senegal, who were going out in this vessel.

The very arduous exertions of the sailors during four days, to get the vessel afloat again, would probably have succeeded, had it not been for the indecision of the principal officers, who were perpetually varying their orders, and the folly or selfishness of the intended Governor of Senegal, who would not consent to her being lightened by throwing several casks of flour overboard, as well as fourteen twenty-four pounders. The weather now became so very unfavourable, that they not only found all their efforts ineffectual, but a perseverance in them highly dangerous. They therefore turned their attention towards the plan which, on the first striking of the

vessel, had been proposed by the Governor, for the construction of a raft capable of conveying two hundred men with provisions. The rest of the crew were to have recourse to the six boats belonging to the vessel. They were to tow the raft, and at meal-times they were to come and receive their rations from those on board of it; a regulation, the wisdom of which promised to secure attention to it. The plan of this raft was drawn by the Governor, and the engraving of it prefixed to the narrative, will enable the reader to form a better idea of the misery of being exposed, on such a machine, to the fury of the waves, than the most laboured description could do. With this raft and the boats, the latter of which were to be furnished with arms and ammunition from the frigate, it was hoped that the whole crew would be enabled to reach the sandy coast of the desert, and proceed in company to the island of St. Louis. A list of the ship's crew was made out, and an order was issued for the manner in which they were to leave her, and for the situations that were to be assigned them; but all these prudential regulations were lost sight of, at the important moment when they ought to have been put into execution. Distrustful of the courage, the skill, and the humanity of their principal officers, suspicion and fear took possession of the crew: some imagining that it was designed to abandon them, rushed forward into the boats, while others crowded towards the fatal raft; some could not be prevailed upon to quit the ship, while others were induced to stay, by promises of assistance being sent to them. The raft proved so inadequate to the accommodation of the numbers which it had been calculated it would hold, that none were found willing to trust themselves upon it, but those who were impelled by despair, or hurried on in a state of distraction, and the small number of those who were determined to fulfil, to the last moment of their lives, their duty as officers and men

of honour, in attending to the orders of their superiors, or abiding by the fate of those who were under their command. In this latter class, were Mr. Savigny and Mr. Correard, with a few others, whose conduct forms a pleasing and salutary contrast to the ferocity and selfishness with which they were surrounded.

For some leagues the boats towed the raft with much spirit, but becoming exposed to a rougher sea, alarm took possession of their crews; they gradually slipped away, and the first sun that shone upon the unhappy victims on the raft, discovered to them their abandoned and desolate situation. What rendered this desertion the more cruel, was, that they were so near land at the time of its being made, that the boats discovered it that same evening. At first they could not believe the abandonment of them was intentional; but when they became convinced that it was, they uttered cries of rage and vengeance,—the more so, when they found that they had been put on board without even a compass, although they had been assured by a principal officer, (who pretended that he was to command the raft itself, but took good care not to put his foot upon it,) that charts and instruments, and every thing essential to their safety, had been provided for them. At length, one of the workmen under Mr. Correard's command, recollected that he had a compass with him. This discovery for a time excited as lively transports as if it were the assurance of safety, but after a few hours the consolation was at an end: the compass fell between the pieces of wood which composed the raft, and by this unfortunate accident the crew were again left without any other guide than the rising and setting of the sun. That they might neglect no measure, however, that tended to their preservation, they fixed a daily allowance of the wine they had on board, and which was their sole source of nourishment; for the casks of flour had been thrown overboard

to lighten the raft on their first outset, and the only bag of biscuit which they had been enabled to preserve, was consumed, although converted into a paste by having fallen into the sea on the first day of their trials. Mr. Savigny succeeded in setting up a small mast and sail. Prayers were fervently offered up to the Almighty on the approach of evening, and the crew tried to support their spirits with the hope that the boats would return to their assistance, as soon as they could do it in safety, by landing a part of their numbers on the Isle of Arguin. Their situation, however, was very terrible. The raft was considerably under water; a hundred and fifty men were crowded upon it, into a space which would scarcely have allowed of fifteen lying down in it. Those who were in the middle could not move a single step, and those who were at the back and front were up to the waist in water. At every shock of the sea the people fell upon each other, and mingled their cries with the roaring of the billows. The morning presented the dismal spectacle of the corpses of ten or twelve unhappy beings, who had lost their lives from having fallen into the openings between the pieces of the raft. Several others had been carried off by the violence of the sea.

Amidst all these horrors, an event, that might appear romantic, actually occurred: two young men, who, it seems, did not know that they had a father in the vessel with them, discovered him stretched senseless, under their feet! At first, he was supposed to be dead, and their lamentations were deeply affecting. By assistance, however, he was recovered by degrees, and restored to his sons, who, for some time, held him fast in their arms.

Soon, however, this affecting spectacle was superseded by the melancholy one of two young lads, who, with another of the crew, took leave of their companions, and sought a voluntary death in the waves which surrounded them. The mental faculties of

the men already became impaired. Some fancied they saw land, others imagined they beheld ships coming to help them, and all announced their fallacious visions with loud and frantic cries. Still, the day passed over without disturbance; but when evening came on, and no boats appeared, despondency began to seize every heart, and a mutinous spirit to manifest itself among both the soldiers and the sailors.

If the preceding night had been terrible, this was more so. Large waves broke over, and covered these unhappy men every moment. Happily, the wind was astern, and the fury of the waves was checked by the rapidity of their course, as they drove towards the land. Though thrown by the violence of the sea from the back to the front of the raft, as many as could were obliged to keep in the centre, and others perished, who were not so fortunate, being washed off, in spite of all their efforts; whilst, towards the centre, the pressure was such, that many poor fellows were stifled by the weight of their comrades. In the mean time, the officers, at the foot of the little mast they had set up to avoid the waves, were obliged to call to those who surrounded them, to go on the one or the other side. Sometimes, when the waves came upon them nearly athwart, they gave the raft a position almost perpendicular; so that to right it again, it was necessary to run on that side raised up by the sea.

The soldiers and sailors, terrified at this prospect of almost inevitable death, strove to gain courage by intoxication, and forcibly breaking open the wine casks, drank until, actuated by fury, they rushed upon their officers, with whatever weapons they could seize, and a horrible and appalling carnage took place. The scene that now exhibited itself was dreadful. A set of human beings, thus cast on the wide ocean, with only a few planks between them

and eternity, seeking each other's lives, and loading their souls with crime at the very moment of their departure from the misery that had instigated them to these outrages. The officers, by their intrepidity, mingled as it was with the greatest humanity and forgiveness, escaped, though only about twenty in number, from these infuriated wretches, of whom from sixty to sixty-five perished during the night. What a spectacle did the morning present! No wonder that those who contemplated it, were unable to refrain from tears. This part of the narrative is extremely interesting; the account of the physical sensations, the delusions of the senses under which they all laboured, is equally curious and affecting. But their trials were destined to become yet more severe. The dead bodies that covered the raft were resorted to, in order to allay the pangs of hunger. The officers, however, could not at that time bring themselves to partake of such revolting provision, though they endeavoured to eat sword-belts, cartouche-boxes, and the leather from their hats. So intent was the longing for food in this deplorable condition, that the sight of a white butterfly hovering over their heads, roused the whole crew almost to frenzy. Some followed it with haggard eyes, eager to devour it, whilst others hailing it as an omen of deliverance, prevented it from being molested. An officer found, by chance, a small lemon, and would have reserved it for himself, but his comrades forced him to give it up, in order to preserve his life from the hatred which the sight of it inspired. A few cloves of garlic, and two small phials of tincture composed of aromatic substances, for cleaning the teeth, were deemed precious treasures, and the tincture was reluctantly shared in a few drops to each in the hollow of his hand. A bottle, also, that had contained otto of roses, by its agreeable odour excited at times sensations which for a few moments

dissipated the horrible ones to which these unfortunate men were a prey. Yet, even in distress like this, the base suggestions of avarice and rapine were listened to. Some Spaniards and negroes, who had remained neuter in the first mutiny, and some of whom had even ranged themselves on the side of the officers, formed a plot to throw them all into the sea, hoping to execute the design by falling on them by surprise. All the money and other valuables that could be mustered, had been put into a bag and fastened to the mast, in order to purchase provisions and hire camels to carry the sick, in case of landing on the edge of the desert. The mutineers suffered themselves to be persuaded by the negroes, that the coast was very near, and that by their assistance, if they once got on shore, they could traverse Africa without danger. The hope, therefore, of possessing this treasure, was their principal motive to this horrid plot, which was chiefly organized by a Piedmontese sergeant, who had insinuated himself into the confidence of the officers.

The first signal for mutiny was given by a Spaniard, who, placing himself behind the mast, laid fast hold of it, made the sign of the cross with one hand, and invoking the name of God, held a knife in the other. The sailors seized him, and threw him into the sea. The servant of an officer of the troops on board, perceiving that the plot was discovered, armed himself with the last boarding-axe that there was on the raft, wrapped himself in a piece of drapery which he wore folded over his breast, and of his own accord threw himself into the sea. The mutineers now rushed forward to avenge their deaths; a terrible combat again ensued, and both sides fought with desperate fury. Soon the fatal raft was covered with dead bodies, and flowing with blood, which ought to have been shed in another cause, and by other hands.

The following appalling scenes of distress can only be done justice to in the words of the sufferers.

“In this horrible night Lavillette gave further proofs of his intrepidity. It was to him, and to some of those who escaped the consequences of our misfortunes, that we are indebted for our safety. At length, after unheard-of efforts, the mutineers were again repulsed, and tranquillity restored. After we had escaped this new danger, we endeavoured to take some moments of repose. The day at length rose on us for the fifth time. We were now only thirty left, we had lost four or five of our faithful sailors; those who survived were in the most deplorable state; the sea-water had almost entirely excoriated our lower extremities, and many were covered with contusions or wounds, which, irritated by the salt water, made us utter, every moment, piercing cries, so that there were not above twenty of us who were able to stand upright, or walk. Almost our whole stock was exhausted: we had no more wine than was sufficient for four days, and not above a dozen fish left. In four days, said we, we shall be in want of every thing, and death will be unavoidable. Thus arrived the seventh day since we had been abandoned. We calculated, that, in case the boats had not stranded on the coast, they would want, at least, three or four times twenty-four hours to reach St. Louis. Time was further required to equip ships, and for these ships to find us; we resolved to hold out as long as possible. In the course of the day, two soldiers slipped behind the only barrel of wine we had left, and bored a hole in it; all had sworn, that any such means should be punished with death. This law was instantly put in execution, and the two trespassers thrown into the sea.”

“This same day terminated the existence of a youth, twelve years of age, named Leon. The interest inspired by his youth, was increased by

the courage he had shewn, and the services he had performed, for he had before made a voyage to the East Indies. Our old soldiers, and the people in general, bestowed upon him all the care which they thought calculated to prolong his existence : but in vain ; he expired in the arms of Mr. Condin. As long as the strength of this young marine had allowed him to move, he ran continually from one side to the other, calling with loud cries for his unhappy mother, water, and food. He walked without discrimination, over the feet and legs of his companions in misfortune, whose complaints were very seldom accompanied by menaces, they pardoning every thing in the poor youth who occasioned them. We were now only twenty-seven remaining ; of this number but fifteen seemed likely to live some days : all the rest, covered with large wounds, had almost entirely lost their reason ; yet, as they had a share in the distribution of provisions, they might, before their death, consume thirty or forty bottles of wine, which were of inestimable value to us. We therefore reasoned thus : to put the sick on half allowance, would be killing them by inches. So, after a debate, at which the most dreadful despair presided, it was resolved to throw them into the sea. This measure, however repugnant it was to ourselves, procured the survivors wine for six days. When the decision was made, who would dare to execute it ? The habit of seeing death ready to pounce upon us as his prey, the certainty of our infallible destruction, without this fatal expedient, every thing, in a word, had hardened our hearts, and rendered them callous to all feeling except that of self-preservation. Three sailors and a soldier took on themselves this cruel execution : we turned our faces aside, and wept tears of blood over the fate of these unhappy men. Among them were an unfortunate woman and her husband. Both of them had

been severely wounded in the various combats: the woman had a thigh broken between the pieces of wood composing the raft, and her husband had received a deep wound with a sabre on his head. Every thing announced their speedy dissolution; and we consoled ourselves, by the belief, that our cruel resolution shortened, but for a few moments only, the measure of their existence.

“This Frenchwoman, to whom soldiers and Frenchmen gave the sea for a tomb, had partaken for twenty years in the glorious fatigues of our armies; for twenty years she had afforded to the brave, on the field of battle, either the assistance which they needed, or soothing consolations. It was in the midst of her friends—it was by the hands of her friends—Readers, who shudder at the cry of outraged humanity, recollect, at least, that it was other men, fellow-countrymen, and comrades, who had placed *us* in this horrible situation.

“After this dismal transaction had taken place, we the unhappy survivors, as if fearful of trusting ourselves any longer with the instruments of destruction, threw into the sea all our arms, except one sabre, which we reserved for the purpose of cutting a rope or a piece of wood. Our sufferings, however, increased, the tempers of some became soured, and even in sleep they figured to themselves the sad end of their companions, and loudly invoked death for themselves. It is impossible to describe our sufferings during the last three days of our remaining on the wretched raft, without exciting the deepest commiseration. On the morning of the 17th, we descried a ship, and on its coming nearer discovered it to be a brig. The most lively transports of hope and fear were excited, but they both terminated in the deepest disappointment, for the brig gradually disappeared.

“In our despair, we lay down under the shelter

of some sails, which at once protected us from the insupportable fierceness of the sun, and shut us out from the contemplation of outward objects. In this situation, we remained careless of what might happen to us, and anxious only to leave our names, and a detail of our sufferings, on a board fastened to the mast, in the hope that the tidings of our fate might at last reach our country and our families.

“After we had passed two hours in the most cruel reflections, the master-gunner of the frigate, wishing to go to the front of the raft, had scarcely put his head out, when he turned towards us, uttering a loud cry; joy was painted on his countenance, his hands were stretched towards the sea: scarcely breathing, all that he could say was “*Saved! see the brig close upon us.*” And in fact it was at the most half a league distant, carrying a press of sail, and steering so as to come extremely close to us; we precipitately left the tent. Even those whose wounds in the lower extremities had confined them for some days past, crawled to the back part of the raft, to enjoy the sight of this vessel, which was coming to deliver us from certain death. We all embraced each other with transports that looked like delirium, and tears of joy rolled down our cheeks, shrunk by the most cruel privations. Every one seized handkerchiefs or pieces of linen to make signals to the brig, which was approaching rapidly. Others prostrating themselves, thanked God most fervently for our miraculous preservation. Our joy redoubled when we perceived a great white flag at the foremast head, and we exclaimed, “It is then to Frenchmen that we shall owe our deliverance!” We almost immediately recognized the brig to be the *Argus*—it was then within two musket-shot; we were extremely impatient to see her clew up her sails; she lowered them at length, and fresh cries of joy rose from our raft. The *Argus* came, and lay-to on

our starboard, within half a pistol-shot. The crew, ranged on the deck, and in the shrouds, shewed, by waving their hats and handkerchiefs, the pleasure they felt at coming to the assistance of their unhappy countrymen. A boat was immediately hoisted out; an officer belonging to the brig, whose name was Mr. Lemaigre, had embarked in it, in order to have the pleasure of taking us himself from this fatal machine. Full of humanity and zeal, he acquitted himself of his mission in the kindest manner, taking those that were the weakest to convey them into the boat. After all the others were placed in it, Mr. Lemaigre came and carried in his arms Mr. Correard, whose health was the worst, and who was the most excoriated: he placed him at his side in the boat, and spoke to him in the most consoling terms. In a short time we were all removed on board the *Argus*, where we met with the lieutenant of the frigate, and some others of those who had been shipwrecked. Pity was painted on every face, and compassion drew tears from all who cast their eyes on us.

The remainder of this narrative is of course, less painful to the feelings of the reader, notwithstanding the sufferings endured by those who were left on board the *Medusa*, as well as those who had to cross the deserts in order to reach St. Louis. But above all, the total want of humanity and decency displayed towards the unhappy sufferers on the raft, by the governor, Mr. Schmaly, and the commander, Captain Chaumareys, as well as by the cruel neglect shewn them by the French government, is most disgraceful. These persons taking every complaint made by these unfortunate men against the conduct of their superior officers, as a reflection upon its choice of such inefficient agents for situations so important, magnified their plain statements into disaffection and disrespect towards the reigning powers, tried every artifice to prevail upon them to give their signatures to accounts

which completely falsified the truth, and contradicted the painful evidence of their own sad experience; and when it could not succeed, unjustly and ungratefully added to all their afflictions, by disregarding their petitions, and consigning them, after lives of brave and active service, to contempt, neglect, and poverty.

It is pleasing to see, amid such revolting views of human nature, corrupted by power, and hardened by luxury and selfishness, the tribute of gratitude which is paid by our author to the humanity and disinterested generosity of some individuals of our own country, among whom the names of Major Peddie and Captain Campbell, both of whom have since perished on their expedition into Africa, claim a distinguished place. The former of these gentlemen sufficiently evinced his knowledge of the world, in dissuading the unfortunate Correard from going to Paris, under the vain hope of finding any redress for his sufferings and losses, at the hands of the minister by whose ill-judged choice of officers for the expedition, they had been occasioned. "Remember," said he, "that a minister who has committed a fault, never will suffer it to be mentioned to him, nor the persons or things presented to him, that might remind him of his want of ability." The sequel proved that Major Peddie had founded his opinion on correct observation; and the fate of other expeditions organized by the same minister will sufficiently attest, to impartial judges, that the complaints of our authors respecting him, have likewise truth for their basis.

CHAP. XX.

Morocco—Palace—Gardens—Mosques—The Lantern Tower—The Kasseria—Streets—Shume, or Hot Wind—Mount Atlas—Learning—Fez—Markets—Houses—Women—Scarcity of Tea—Luxuries—Cooscooso—Salt—Mode of Cooking—Kab-ab.

MOROCCO, Fez, and some other parts of Barbary, next demand our attention, and for the most recent and best authenticated accounts of these parts of Africa, we are indebted to the truly discriminating pen of Mr. Grey Jackson.

The city of Morocco is situated in a fruitful plain, abounding with grain and pastures. Here are horses of a superior breed called *Ain Toga*. At a distance the city has a beautiful and romantic appearance; the adjacent country being interspersed with groves of the lofty palm, these, with the towering snow-topped mountains of Atlas in the back ground, seem to cool the parched and weary traveller. Even in the sultry season, the traveller, by viewing these mountains, experiences a sensation difficult to describe. The lily of the valley, the fleur-de-lis, roses, jonquils, mignonette, jasmines, violets, the orange and citron flowers, and many others, grow here spontaneously; and in the months of March and April, the air in the morning is strongly perfumed with their grateful and delicious odours. The fruits are oranges of the finest flavour, figs of different kinds, water and musk melons, apricots, peaches, and various kinds of grapes, pears, dates, plums, and pomegranates. The city of Morocco is surrounded by extremely thick walls, formed of a cement of lime and sandy earth, put into cases, and beaten together with square rammers. These walls were in many places broken and decayed, so that horses might pass through, but these breaches

were repaired previous to the siege and capture of the place by Muley Yezid in February, 1792. Some of the houses are built with elegance and taste, but being all behind high walls, they are not visible from the street. The walls that conceal the houses are of the rudest construction, as it is the maxim of almost every individual to conceal his wealth, and to impress the public and the government with an idea that he is poor and distressed.

The imperial palace of Morocco, which faces Mount Atlas, is built of hewn stone, ornamented with marble. It is not so magnificent a building as that at Mequinez; the architecture of the principal gate is called Gothic, and is embellished with various ornaments in the Arabesque taste: the walls of some of the rooms are of filagree work, and others of Ezzulia, or glazed tiles, similar to the Chinese tiles, fixed in the walls with much effect in producing the idea of coolness. Three gardens belong to this palace; the largest is called Jinen el Erdona, the next Jinen el Asia, and the third, which is the smallest, Jinen Nile, or the Garden of the Nile: so named from its containing the fruits and plants of the Nile, Timbuctoo, and Soudan. In the two former of these gardens, the emperor allows the foreign merchants to pitch their tents whenever they visit him. In the Jinen Nile, they have what is called their audience of business, or the second audience; the first being an interview of ceremony, and the third an audience of leave to depart. The roses here are unequalled, and mattresses are made of their leaves for men of rank to recline upon. In these gardens are pavilions, called *Kobba*, about forty feet square, with pyramidal roofs, covered with glazed tiles of various colours, and lighted from four lofty and spacious doors, which are opened according to the position of the sun. They are painted and gilt in the Arabesque style, and ornamented with square compartments, containing pas-

sages from the Koran, in a sort of Arabic short-hand, understood only by the first scholars. As the luxury and convenience of tables, chairs, and curtains, are unknown, or rather disregarded, in this country, the furniture of these apartments is very simple, consisting frequently of a couple of sofas or couches, some china and tea equipage, a clock, a few arms hung round the walls, a water-pot, and carpets to kneel upon at prayer-time. Here the emperor takes coffee or tea, and transacts business with his courtiers. The grand pavilion in the middle of the enclosure is appropriated to the women; it is a very spacious building, and fitted up in a style of neatness and simplicity. The emperor Sidi Mohammed, who died in 1790, after reigning thirty-three years, caused several regular pavilions to be built by Europeans in the palace-gardens; these are of hewn stone, and finished in a plain substantial style. Many private gardens in the city are also decorated with pavilions, and these, with the temples, sanctuaries and mosques, form a striking contrast with the real or apparent wretchedness of the surrounding buildings.

Near the emperor's palace is the M'Shoar, or Place of Audience, an extensive quadrangle, walled in, but open to the sky; here the emperor hears the complaints of his subjects, and administers justice. The mosque, said to have been built by Muley el Monsore, is supported by many pillars of marble, and under this is a cistern, which holds a large quantity of water collected in the rainy season, and used by the Mohammedans for their ablutions. The tower is square, and built like that of Seville in Spain; the walls are four feet thick, and it has seven stories, in each of which are windows, narrow on the outside, but wide within, which renders the interior light and airy; the ascent is not by stairs, but by a gradually winding terrace, composed of lime and small stones, so firmly cemented together as to be

nearly as hard as iron. On the summit of the tower, is a turret in the form of a square lantern, hence called the Lantern Tower, from which Cape Conten, distant above 120 miles, is distinctly visible. The roofs of the different chambers in this building, which are all quadrangular, are very ingeniously vaulted; and the whole workmanship is of the most excellent kind. Prayers are performed here every Friday in presence of the emperor; but that part of the city adjoining this edifice, is a mere heap of ruins. Another tower in this city has been frequently noticed, from the circumstance of its having three golden balls on the top, weighing, it is said, ten quintals, equal to 1,205 pounds avoirdupois. Several kings, according to tradition, have attempted to take them down, but without success, as they are very firmly and artfully fixed; but according to the superstitious ideas of the populace, a spirit is said to guard these balls, and all persons who have attempted their removal, have been killed soon after. At the extremity of the city near Mount Atlas, and near the imperial palace, is the department for the Jews, called El Millah, the gates of which are shut at night. Great numbers of Jews have, from various causes, been induced to emigrate to the adjacent mountains, where they are more free from oppression. In this quarter stands the Spanish convent, now quite deserted, having for a long time been inhabited by only two or three friars.

The Kassaria, or department for trade, is an oblong building, surrounded with shops of a small size, filled with silks, cloths, linens, and other valuable articles, for sale. Here people resort to hear news, much in the manner of the exchanges in European towns.

The city of Morocco, though well supplied with water from wells, from springs, and the river Tensift, cannot boast of its cleanliness; the streets are mostly filled

with the ruins of houses gone to decay; and in the Millah, or Jews' quarter, heaps of dung and other filth are seen as high as the houses. The houses being almost all old, swarm with vermin, particularly bugs, which in the summer season are literally a plague, the walls being covered with them. At this period people are also much annoyed by serpents, and even scorpions are sometimes found in their beds; however, the former are considered as objects of veneration. The air about Morocco is generally calm; the neighbouring mountains of Atlas defend the plain in which it stands from the scorching *Shume* or hot wind, which blows from Tafielt and Sahara, by arresting its progress. The snow always covering Atlas, imparts a coolness to the surrounding atmosphere; in summer, however, the heat is intense, though the nights during that period are cool: in winter the cold is very sensibly felt, but the climate is extremely healthy; though, according to Mr. Jackson, the inhabitants, particularly the Jews, are much subject to ophthalmia. Adjoining the mosque of Sidi Belabbes, the saint and patron of Morocco, there are various court yards, with arcades and rooms to lodge the poor, the maimed, and the invalids, or the old; these present a most shocking sight; for besides this frightful spectacle of evils, there is also an entire want of those wise regulations which are observed in Europe in establishments of this kind. Eighteen hundred wretches of both sexes are actually provided for in this establishment, by means of the alms and funds of the mosques. This is also a sanctuary, and serves as a place of refuge for those who are prosecuted by despotism; from hence they can negotiate their pardon, and wait till they can safely rejoin society, certain that this asylum will never be violated. There is, however, no positive law in favour of this immunity; but it is founded on the public opinion, and if a sultan were to infringe it by any abuse of power, he might

cause a revolution. "How respectable is a prejudice like this! so useful to humanity in a country where the inhabitant, deprived of all civil protection, lives in the abyss of the most shocking despotism." Philosophy herself would hold it sacred.

Learning, as it may well be presumed, is at the lowest ebb in this country; and even some of the emperors have been incapable of reading or writing. There are, however, some regular schools in their cities and towns for teaching children to read, write, and cipher; but the Koran is esteemed the perfection of all human learning, and when any student has gone through it, he is superbly dressed, placed on horseback, and conducted through the town in triumph by his school-fellows. The profound veneration with which the inhabitants of Morocco treat the holy name of God is well worthy the notice and imitation of Christians. The impious practice of profane swearing is wholly unknown among them, and their detestation of Christians is not a little increased by the blasphemous and indecent manner in which the votaries of the Gospel of Jesus express themselves on every trivial occasion. Another peculiarity is, that the Moors never accompany a criminal, as a crowd of curious spectators, to a place of execution; if they meet one on the road, they view him with looks of sorrow and compassion; nor can they comprehend for what reason the people in our cities are fond of sights, which put human sympathy to so much torment.

Fez is situated on the slope of several hills that surround it on every side, except the north and north-east. The streets are very dark, because they are not only so narrow that two men on horseback can hardly ride together, but also because the houses that are very high have a projection from the first floor, that intercepts the light. This inconvenience is increased by galleries or passages, that connect the

upper parts of the houses, and by the high walls which are raised at certain distances from one side of the street to the other, as if to support the houses. These walls have arched passages, which are shut at night, and all communication between any one part of the town and the rest is effectually precluded. The ground not being paved, the streets are very dirty in rainy weather; but they are very clean when it is fine, because no nuisances are suffered to remain in them. Many of the high walls in Fez are actually propped up; almost all the houses are without windows, the few of these that are to be seen are placed very high, and are generally either shut or covered with blinds. The doors too have a shabby and mean appearance. The rooms are very long and narrow like those in the houses at Tangier, the ceiling made of planks is very lofty, and in common houses without any ornament. In others, the ceiling, the doors of the rooms, and the arcades of the courtyard, are decorated with arabesques in relievo, and painted with various colours, even covered with gold and silver. The floors of all the houses are of bricks, and among the rich they are of flat square Dutch tiles, or of marble of different colours. The staircases are very narrow, and the stairs high. The flat roofs of the houses resemble those of Tangier, and are covered with stamped earth about one foot thick. This heavy load often crushes the walls; hence few houses are durable; almost all the walls are fissured, or leaning out of the perpendicular. The principal mosque, of about two hundred, at Fez, is called El Caroubin; this contains above three hundred pillars; but it is of a heavy and mean construction. The shops at Fez are so numerous as to give an appearance of a population of three or four hundred thousand inhabitants, and to occasion a sort of continual fair, to which the people of the country and the mountains resort. The markets for provisions are very nume-

rous, and may be compared to those of Europe with respect to abundance. There are also plenty of houses where victuals ready dressed may be had.

The various trades and the different articles for sale are divided into classes in separate streets, so that one sees a whole street occupied only by one profession, or one kind of trade; others filled with shops for cloth, silk, and productions brought from over sea, and from the place called El Caisseria; this is covered with wood shaped into arabesques, with openings or windows of various forms, to admit air and light. The streets of Fez are in general clean. The Mahometan beauties frequent it, but always wrapped up in their mysterious haicks, which, however, they are cunning enough to open now and then.

The houses in most of the towns in Barbary appear, at a little distance, like vaulted tombs in a church-yard; and the entrance of the best of them has but a mean appearance. The outer walls are universally white-washed, which in the streets, and particularly when the sun is out, produces a very unpleasant sensation to the eyes; but as the roofs are all terraces, they serve as *verandas* for the Moorish women, where they commonly sit to take the air. As the best apartments are all backwards, a stable, or perhaps something worse, is the place to which visitors are first introduced. Here, or in the street, he is detained till all the women are sent out of the way; he is then allowed to enter a square court, into which four narrow and long rooms open by means of large folding doors, which, as they have no windows, serve to introduce light into the apartments. The court has a fountain generally in its centre, and this, if it belong to a Moor of property, is floored with blue and white chequered tiling. The doors are also mostly painted of various colours in the *chequered form*, and the upper parts usually orna-

mented with very curious carved work. None of the chambers have fire-places, and their victuals are always dressed in the court-yard, in an earthen stove, heated with charcoal.

When the visitor enters the room where he is received by the master of the house, he finds him sitting cross-legged, and barefooted on a mattress, covered with fine white linen, and placed on the floor, or else on a common mat. This, with a narrow piece of carpeting, are all the ornaments to be found for the flooring. Some apartments are hung with the skins of lions or tigers, or adorned with a display of muskets or sabres. As the law of Mahomet strictly prohibits the use of pictures, this delightful species of ornament finds no place in the houses of the Moors. When a Moor receives his guests, he never rises from his seat, but shakes hands, inquires after their health, and desires them to sit down, either on a carpet or a cushion placed on the floor. (*See Plate.*) Whatever be the time of day, tea is then brought in upon a tea-board with short feet; this is the highest compliment that can be offered by a Moor, as tea is a very scarce and expensive article, and can only be had by the rich and luxurious. The manner of preparing it here, is by putting some green tea, a small portion of tansey, the same portion of mint, and a large portion of sugar, into the tea-pot at the same time, and filling it up with boiling water. After it is properly infused, it is poured into remarkably small cups of the best India china, the smaller the more genteel, without any milk, and accompanied with some cakes or sweetmeats, and then handed round to the company. A tea-drinking party among the Moors seldom rise from it under two hours.

The other luxuries of the Moors are snuff, of which they are uncommonly fond, and smoking tobacco; for the latter, the greatest part use wooden pipes, about four feet in length, with an earthen



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bowl; the rich have the bowls made of solid gold. For opium, they substitute the *achicha*, a species of flax; this they powder, and infuse in small quantities. To make their tobacco more powerfully intoxicating, they mix an herb with it called *khaf*; and though the use of spirits, as well as wine, are strictly forbidden by the Koran, there are numbers among the Moors who use both to excess, when they can procure them. The common drink of the poor is water: but at certain times they make sherbet with water and sugar, and they are also great coffee-drinkers. Considerable numbers of them, however, do not fare so well, but instead of animal food, or *coosusoo*, are obliged to content themselves with bread and fruit. In the large towns, the bakers' boys go about the street making a loud noise, to take people's bread, and carry it to the bake-house. Upon hearing this, the women within come and knock at the inside of the door, which the boy hearing, makes towards the house; the women then open the door a very little way, and hiding their faces, deliver the cakes to him, which, when baked, he brings to the door again, and these are received in the same manner as when given out. The water-carriers, who are mostly Moors, go about with a large copper pot on their shoulders, full of water, crying *hab elma*, or, will you have any water? Those who want it, knock within the door as before: way being made, the Moor goes in, empties his pot, receives his money, and goes away. Some of these water-carriers, it is thought, are sometimes employed in carrying on illicit correspondence for the women; and as they always wear veils, a man's own wife may pass by him in the street, and he not have the least knowledge of her.

At a Moorish table, no salt is used to the meat, because the meat is always seasoned before it comes there. The meat they boil is always cut in pieces whilst raw; it is afterwards parboiled, then taken

out with the liquor, and put in again with roots or cabbage, or what the season affords, cut small, together with pepper, herbs, and onions, after which a small quantity of the liquor is poured in again, and stewed so long that the meat will easily come from the bones if there be any : this is called *torbeea*, and the sauce for it, is an egg beaten up with the juice of a lemon. As for the roast meat, they cut the flesh into small pieces, stick three or four of them upon an iron skewer, and set them before the fire ; at the cooks' shops, the pieces are not much larger than the bowl of a pipe. This is called *Kab-ab*.

The present sovereign of Morocco is represented as a great enemy to luxuries, and to have carried his zeal to such a pitch as to order all the plantations of tobacco to be destroyed ; because though the Prophet, as he observed, has not forbidden the use of that plant, there is no evidence of his having used it himself. In this spirit he has opposed every possible obstacle to commerce with infidels, which he regards with horror. In other respects, his government is said to be milder than that usually experienced by the people of Morocco, particularly under his predecessor, Muley Yesid, who died in 1790.

CHAP. XXI.

Mr. Blaquiere—Tripoli—Port Bomba—Bengazi—The Hesperides—Sydra or Syrtis Major—Lebida—Roman Remains—Tripoli—The Bashaw's Castle—Bazaars or Markets—Mosques—Inns and Caravanseras—Police—Prospects—Serpents—The Sirocco—Lotus Tree—Date Tree—Corn Mills—Trade—Animals—Idiots—Fairies—Costume—Surgeons—Military.

For an excellent description of Tripoli, Tunis, &c. we shall now have recourse to Mr. Blaquiere, an enlightened and patriotic traveller, who resided in Tripoli in 1811. The part now under the bashaw's dominion, he says, extends from the islands of Jerbi to Cape Razaten, a line of coast 800 miles in length; its interior extent, owing to the frequent interruption of the desert, is extremely irregular, but along the whole coast, and for several miles inland, it produces many valuable articles of commerce. The government of Tripoli includes four provinces, the Mediterranean and maritime on the sea-coast, and those of Garian and Messulata in the interior. The first of these embraces the whole of the ancient Cyrenaica, now called Libya: Messulata and Garian are comprehended in an extensive tract of mountainous country, lying south-east of the capital between that and Fez. Tripoli, towards the east, is bounded by the desert of Barca, on the south by Fez, and on the west by Tunis, and the country of dates. This part of Libya, it is melancholy to observe, was formerly distinguished by five celebrated cities, viz. Arsinoe, Cyrene, Apollonia, Ptolemais, and Berenice, all of which, together with the island of Crete, were formed into a Roman province, under Ptolemy, the last sovereign of Egypt. The splendid remains of these places, which still attract the traveller's attention, added to the amazing fertility of the soil, and the fa-

cility of communication with the interior of Africa, are sufficient proofs of the former opulence of the country, though till lately so little known, or even thought of, by Europeans.

Port Bomba is formed by a cluster of small islands, seven leagues east of Cape Razatin, the Ras Jathuc of antiquity. Bomba is at present nearly uninhabited, and only frequented by the coasting vessels and the bashaw's cruisers. The Paliurus, of Pliny, discharges itself into the sea a little to the eastward of Bomba, but is now only a trifling stream. From this place towards the Syrtis Major, the land is high. Darnis, with the slight alteration of *Derne*, its present name, is the capital of the province, and the seat of the bashaw, his eldest son, or some other officer enjoying his entire confidence. Derne, as a port, is extremely convenient for watering vessels, a fact which was experienced both by the French and English during the late war.

Bengazi, the ancient Berenice, and the place where the poets of Greece fixed the celebrated gardens of the Hesperides, now contains 5,000 inhabitants, has an excellent harbour for small vessels, and is defended by a wall and castle near the sea. This place was the chief emporium of the Pentapolis, or five cities, of the ancients. Bengazi has lately been frequented by a number of vessels from Malta, under the English flag. From this place, along the whole coast, and in many parts of the interior, several fine specimens of Greek and Roman architecture are to be seen, and the country at large presents an inexhaustible field of research to the antiquary.

From Bengazi, the gulf of Sydra, or Syrtis Major, commences, and forms a semicircular line of coast, nearly 400 miles in length, to Cape Mesurata, formerly *Caphalæ*. Several fine ruins, particularly *Macomades Syrtis*, near Cape Sort, powerfully attract the traveller's notice. The inhabitants about the Syrtis

Major consist of Arabs, scattered in small bodies of two or three hundred each. Near one day's journey into the interior, from the south-eastern extremity of the Syrtis, Mr. Blaquiere was informed of the remains of a very large city.

Ninety miles west of Mesurata, are the remains of a renowned city, the *Leptis Magna* of the ancients, now called Lebida; it was the birth-place of the emperor Severus, who died at York. The road from Tripoli to Lebida, leads through Tagoura, and is in some places rather circuitous. Crossing what the Arabs call the five rivers, or rather conduits for winter torrents, at the base of the Mesurata mountains, we turn to the left, and pass through the villages of Lagate, Maraboot, and Sidi Benger, leaving those of Tumbrack and Saleen to the westward. Much of this road runs through an uncultivated country, till it turns near the mountains, where there are numerous hordes of Arabs. The extensive ruins of *Leptis Magna* are close to the sea, which seems to have made some encroachments on a part of them. The ruins that remain extend about three miles in length southward, and nearly two in breadth. The bed of a river runs from the mountains directly through them. Gateways, walls, and an immense number of pillars, are here to be seen, some of these of the finest granite, besides broken statues and marbles, with inscriptions in Greek, Latin, and Punic characters. There are also a great many sculptured friezes, and the remains of several Roman baths. About a mile from the ruins is an oblong terrace of fine Roman pavement, of considerable extent. Close to the sea are the remains of a large edifice, apparently a fortification. Cameos, coins, medals, and bronzes, are frequently found at Lebida by the Arabs, who sometimes take them to the capital for sale, but as often destroy them from superstitious motives. To this it may be added, that a luxuriant vegetation, to-

tally unaided by the rude inhabitants, extends for five and twenty miles to the eastward.

Pursuing our course westward, there are no striking objects except several ruined towers, and a few inconsiderable villages. Tajoura, within ten miles of Tripoli, is a large and populous village, with a good summer roadstead for shipping. The people support themselves by cultivation, and send large quantities of poultry, vegetables, and fruit to the capital. Consequently from Tajoura to Tripoli, the country assumes the appearance of a continued garden, and the road is tolerably good all the way.

Tripoli, the capital, by the natives called Tarables, was the *Aöe* of the ancients, is built on a neck of land which projects a short distance into the sea, and is surrounded by a high wall, flanked with six bastions. Towards the north there is a semicircular battery of two tiers, mounting in all twenty pieces of heavy cannon, communicating with the city by a mole, on which twelve more large guns are placed; another battery of eight guns is connected with the latter, and extends southward. On the west there is a fort; but as during the winter gales it is insulated, no guns are kept there; it is connected with the city by a small mole, half a mile east of the castle; and on the beach, there is a battery of eight guns, called, "The English Fort." It commands the harbour, but is open on the land side.

The bashaw's castle, which stands on the south-east quarter of the town, is an irregular and extensive square pile, and, viewed from the port, has a very respectable appearance. It has one grand entrance, and two sally-ports; the former is towards the town, and one of the latter communicates with the dock-yard, that runs along the north side of the castle; the other looks toward the country. The ramparts are very high, and well stocked with brass cannon. Against the assaults of Moors and Arabs it is thought

to be impregnable, and when attacked in 1804 by an American squadron, it made a very decent defence. The state-hall in the entrance of the castle, is a very elegant room both for its shape and structure: a handsome throne is placed at the extremity opposite the entrance door, and on each side are pillars of dark marble, which produce a good effect. The bashaw has another beautiful room, where he usually receives the consuls and naval officers of European powers. The whole of his residence is divided into courts, passages, houses, and apartments, irregularly piled on each other, and stables without order or arrangement. The harbour of Tripoli, though not very spacious, is perfectly safe throughout the year, and capable of containing a large fleet of merchant ships, and other vessels, not drawing more than eighteen feet of water. The caravanseras, mosques, and houses of the different consuls, and higher classes of the inhabitants, are usually built of stone, and regularly white-washed twice a year. The dwellings of the common people are formed of earth, small stones, and mortar; they are all of a square form, with a court in the centre, and never more than one story high; the court is generally paved with Maltese stone, an article of considerable commerce here. The flat roofs of the houses serve the purposes of a promenade, and also to receive the rain-water, which descends through the pipes into cisterns constructed below for its reception. The private houses, those of the foreign consuls excepted, have no windows towards the street: but though the best houses are two stories high, they are by no means so sumptuous as those of Tunis or Algiers, being so very plain as scarcely to be furnished with more than carpets and a few cushions.

However, in almost all the rooms of the houses, there is at each end a sort of stage of planks, about four feet high, with narrow stairs. These alcoves are furnished with rails and wooden ornaments, and there

is a door under each of them. These places are calculated to contain a woman's complete household furniture; as upon one of the alcoves the bed is placed; upon the other the wearing apparel, and that of the children; under the one are the table, utensils, and the victuals; under the other, the remainder of the wearing apparel, linen, &c. In consequence of this arrangement, the middle of the room is no way encumbered, but affords plenty of space to receive the company. Thus, a Mahometan, having a house with three or four rooms, may keep three or four women, without their being in the way of each other.

The bazars or markets, occupy a considerable portion of Tripoli, and are kept in excellent order. One recently built is a very spacious and airy structure, with an arched roof, and it affords shelter in winter, and shade during the intense heat of summer. It is appropriated exclusively to the sale of woollens from the Levant, and slaves from the interior of Africa, particularly those of Bornou and Timbuctoo.

The places of worship at Tripoli consist of six mosques of the first rank, with minarets, and six smaller ones. The great mosque is magnificent, and of a handsome architecture: the roof, composed of small cupolas, is supported by sixteen elegant Doric columns, of a fine grey marble, said to have been taken in a Christian vessel. The largest of these buildings have lofty galleries for the singers, like European churches; they are also covered with carpets, whereas only common mats are used in Morocco. The minarets at Tripoli are of a cylindrical form and very lofty, with a gallery round the upper part of them, in the middle of which another small steeple, like a sentry box, is constructed, from whence the *Muedden*, or crier, summons the people to prayer.

When the worship begins at the mosques on a Friday about noon, several singers commence the cere-

mony by singing verses from the Koran. The Iman mounts his private pulpit, which in Morocco is only a wooden stair-case; in Tripoli it is stone. He then turns towards the wall, and in a low voice recites a prayer; which done, he turns toward the people, and sings a sermon in the same trembling, quivering voice; one part of the sermon varies, and the preacher sings it from his manuscript; the other part, which never changes, is recited by heart, and sung in the same key as the prayers. At the end of the sermon, the Iman turns toward the *Mehereb*, or the box on his right hand, singing a prayer in a higher tone, after which he turns on the left side, and repeats the same: he afterwards descends two or three stairs of the pulpit, and says some prayers for the pasha and for the people, to which the faithful say, Amen. Lastly, the Iman goes down to the *Mehereb*, and whilst the chorus is singing he recites with the people the canonical prayer. The cries from the minarets, for the convocations of the people for prayer, are not so clamorous at Tripoli as they are at Morocco. During the Ramadan also, the funeral trumpets are not used here as in Morocco; but the steeples are illuminated every night, and the *Mueddens* sing tedious prayers.

The finest mosque in Tripoli, is that which fronts the bashaw's castle; it was built in the reign of Hamet, head of the Carimani family, and is a very elegant edifice of its kind. There are only two public baths in this city, but the higher classes generally have one attached to their houses. The public bath for males is very neat and spacious; the dome is perforated with small holes to admit the passage of the vapour with which it is heated, and a large marble slab in the centre is for the bathers to recline upon, after being well rubbed with gloves made of rough serge. Having had their limbs stretched, they retire to a coffee-room, which communicates with the bath by a long passage.

The inns and caravanseras at Tripoli, are not of the first order, though they answer the purposes of the natives. These buildings differ in no great degree from other houses, except in the number of apartments which they generally contain. The upper rooms are mostly fitted up for the reception of visitors, while those below are reserved for merchandise and stabling. Here are three European taverns, kept by a Maltese, a Spaniard, and a Frenchman, under the protection of their respective consuls.

So excellent are the regulations of the police, that acts of violence are never heard of in the streets, and robberies are altogether unknown. For the purpose of keeping good order, besides the nightly patrol there is a guard stationed in each street, who is responsible for whatever may occur in it of an improper nature. There is also a certain number of people kept for the express purpose of sweeping the town, and of removing offensive matter, which has a considerable influence upon the health of the inhabitants.

The principal specimen of antiquity to be seen here is a superb triumphal arch, constructed of fine marble, and ornamented with several bas-reliefs, inscriptions, &c. This was erected in the reign of Pius Antoninus, by the consul Scipio Oefritus. But though a great part of this arch is buried in the earth, and the upper part is mutilated, enough remains to excite both curiosity and admiration.

A more luxuriant prospect than that which the environs of Tripoli afford, can scarcely be conceived. Leaving the gate on the land side, the view around is highly gratifying; country-houses, extensive pleasure gardens, groves of orange trees, and innumerable fountains, together with the incessant progress of vegetation, form an assemblage of rural beauty very rarely to be met with. The fairy scene, however, after continuing about five miles inland, suddenly changes to an unmeasurable waste of sand, forming

a striking contrast with the cultivated fields, to whose edges it approaches. There are six spires in the city : the three highest have black tops ; the southernmost appears to stand on the bashaw's palace, but is a little behind it. One of these, an excellent sea-mark for vessels entering the harbour, is rather to the south of the Portuguese flag-staff, which is the highest in Tripoli. The number of people in this city do not appear to exceed twenty-five thousand : but besides the Moors, there are a great many Jewish families, which inhabit the western side of the town, and apply themselves to trade, in which they are much encouraged by the Moors, who cannot traffic without their aid. Even the bashaw cannot do without them, in consequence of their expertness in accounts, and their ability with respect to languages. All the jewels and gold-dust that are at any time purchased by the bashaw, must be previously weighed and inspected by some of this fraternity. Jewesses are also employed to provide wearing apparel and other necessities for the harem. All the gold and silver ornaments for the Moorish and Arab women, are made by Jews, who are also the manufacturers of gold and silver lace.

The Jews here, though constantly pleading poverty, are severely taxed, and have a *cadi* or chief appointed to judge of all differences among them, who never fails, in case of quarrels, to become umpire himself, and by this means to extort money from both parties.

It is asserted as no less singular than true, that traces of the *Psylli*, or the ancient inhabitants of the *Syrtis Major*, remain, to whom was ascribed the surprising power of curing the bites of serpents, and other extraordinary qualifications. Previous to their going abroad, at present, they prepare themselves for several days by a particular regimen, which produces a species of violent frenzy, and then they are

considered as inspired beings, and are held in the greatest veneration by the people, who rank them among their saints. When thus prepared to astonish the rabble, they sally forth half naked, foaming at the mouth, and exhibiting every signs of madness, except that of biting the Moors. It is, however, necessary to have a guard accompanying them, to prevent any bad effects; for if they meet a Christian, they make many efforts to seize him, with a view, as they say, to eat him up. They are frequently known to devour living cats, dogs, fowls, &c. and are also taken to visit sick persons, being supposed to be endowed with the power of curing all diseases. Their madness and pretended inspiration ceases in a few days, and after this they very prudently conceal themselves, and are not seen or heard of for several months.

During the reign of the present bashaw's father, an extraordinary race of people lived in caves, under ground, about the Mesulata mountains, and were supposed to be descended from the famous Lotophagi. In preparing their habitations, they first dig a large square cavity in the earth, about twenty feet deep, while its length and breadth are proportioned to the number of people it is intended to accommodate. On each side of this, several subordinate offices or departments are made, for sleeping places, magazines, &c. The entrances go in a sloping direction, and are sufficiently high to admit a camel. During the night these receptacles are occupied both by the families and their flocks, and they also serve as places of refuge to both, even in the day-time.

Besides these descriptions of people and the few strangers, the Regency is inhabited by three different races, Moors, Arabs, and Turks. The Moors generally apply themselves to manufacturing muskets, pistols, baracans, boots, and slippers, the dying of clothes and skins, and embroidery on leather, in which they are singularly expert. They are also

much employed in cultivation and farming, according to their own crude ideas of agriculture.

In stature, the Tripolines seldom exceed the middle size. The Moors here have very fair complexions, while those of the Arabs are dark and sallow. They are all remarkable for regular and athletic forms. Cripples or deformed persons are never seen among them.

The climate in Tripoli is generally salubrious, but frequently subject to the sirocco; this irksome and destructive wind generally prevails during the autumn, though seldom more than three days at once. To avoid its unpleasant effects, those who can afford it shut themselves closely up in their houses; but as a proof of the salubrity of Tripoli, the coast has not been visited by plague or any other pestilential disease for the last forty years.

Ophthalmia, as in all the countries of Asia, is the prevalent disorder, but it is much heightened for want of a proper method of cure. In Tripoli, as well as in other parts of Africa, there is a rainy season; the rains generally commence after gathering the dates towards October, in the beginning of which month they plough and sow their grounds. At this season of the year those who inhabit towns prepare for winter, by white-washing their houses, and repairing cisterns destined to receive the rain water. In December and January the weather becomes dry and extremely pleasant, like spring in England; and in the beginning of April, the market before Tripoli is abundantly stocked with cattle, poultry, and vegetables of every kind; towards June, almonds, figs, apples, pears, plums, peaches, nectarines, grapes, and melons, are in season, and incredibly plentiful. The fruit of Tripoli generally possesses a most exquisite flavour, and the vegetables are very fine. The dates in the vicinity differ very much from those of *Fet*, Egypt, and the rest of Barbary, the genus being in-

finitely more luxuriant. If the skin of this fruit is cut through the middle, it readily comes off; they are of a yellow, brown, green, black, and red colour; the latter are termed horse-dates; these animals eat the fruit, and the stones are given to the camels.

The lotus tree, on the fruit of which the savage *Lotophagi* used to feed, abounds in the *Mischea*, or cultivated tract, near Tripoli, and is lofty, and extremely umbrageous. The fruit is contained in a pod not unlike those of the tamarind, and when ripe is both sweet and nutritious. Formerly a considerable quantity of raw silk, formed one of the exports from the regency, but its cultivation has been latterly much neglected; the mulberry tree, however, is to be found near the town in great numbers, so that this valuable article may, at any time, become the staple commodity of the country. To these may be added the castor tree, found in the vicinity of Tajoura, where a great deal of that oil is made annually; but has not as yet been exported in any quantity. On the coast, fish of every kind are most abundant; but fishing does not form any branch of the public industry. The cassob seed, so little known in European countries, is, in Tripoli, converted into the most nutritive flour imaginable, and forms a principal part of the people's diet. It is contained in a spike about three inches in length, and as many in circumference: this grows on the top of a reed, which seldom exceeds three feet in height; the seed is about the size of a large partridge shot, and of a light lead colour. *Bishuah*, as little known to us, is a most favourite dish with the lower class of Arabs, as *cascasoo* is with the Moors. This seed was brought from Soudan about fifty years ago, until which period it was entirely unknown here; the stem is scarcely two feet high, and generally bears several ears; the seed is very small, and of a light red colour: when prepared it looks something like hasty-pudding, and is

called *Bozeen* by the Arabs, who usually eat it with a profusion of oil and red pepper; of the latter, it is astonishing to see what a quantity they can devour without appearing to feel the least inconvenience.

The exportation of corn, horses, and mules, is prohibited by the bashaw; he, according to the custom of other Barbary princes, being the principal merchant in his own dominions: a practice still persisted in, though it has long been known to be very injurious to the commerce of these countries.

The sale of spirits and wine is another exclusive monopoly of the bashaw, who farms it out to the best bidder; and this is, perhaps, one of the greatest evils felt by the Europeans here. A Jew, who lately held this right, paid for this privilege alone, twenty thousand Spanish dollars per annum; thus every one was obliged either to purchase from the Jew, or pay him an exorbitant demand for leave to import his own spirits. As for the imports here, they differ very little from those in the other ports of Barbary; they are as follow:—cloths of every quality and colour; sugar, tea, coffee, spices of all sorts; woollen and Manchester stuffs; damasks, silks of various colours and descriptions; gold and silver tissues, laces, and threads; cochineal; indigo; iron, hardware of all kinds; small wines, spirits, capillaire, gunpowder, cannon, muskets, pistols, and sword-blades; naval stores of every description; planks and beams for building ships and houses; common looking-glasses, toys, cotton threads, Tunisian caps, &c. &c.

The favourite beverage in Tripoli is called *Lackby*, and is extracted from the date-tree, before the fruit becomes ripe, by the following process:—the bark of the tree being taken off towards the top, and all the branches, a deep circular cavity is made in the centre; from this an incision is cut in the side, for letting the liquor out, which is almost immediately excited by the heat of the sun, and is discharged into a jar,

held by a Moor, who contrives to raise himself by means of a rope. A large jar-full is generally collected from each tree in the course of four-and-twenty hours. The lackby often runs for a month, at the rate of two gallons a day, and the tree is then marked, as the fruit does not grow again till the expiration of three years. Some trees will bear the operation of tapping five or six times. When it is dead, it is converted into rafters for houses. The juice of the date in the morning is extremely cool, and even delicious; and it has some slight resemblance to the cocoa-nut milk. When left for a day or two, it ferments, and imbibes great strength; in this state the natives drink large quantities, and become intoxicated; their debauches, when drinking lackby, frequently continue three days.

The method of grinding corn in Tripoli, though not the most expeditious, is, nevertheless, ingenious. Mill-stones are worked by a camel yoked to the extremity of a beam, running transversely into a large piece of wood, one end of which is fixed perpendicularly in a pivot placed on the ground, while the other plays through a hole cut in a beam, which passes from one side of the roof to the other. The mill-stones are not alike; the lower being convex, is placed about three feet from the ground, and has a groove to receive the other, which fits into it. The corn descending through them is very finely ground, and received below in a receptacle constructed for the purpose. One inconvenience attending this flour, is, that of its being impregnated with some of the sand, introduced into the wheat-ears during the prevalence of the sirocco winds. The domestic mill is much used, there being one of these in all the better sort of houses; it is formed of two small stones perfectly flat; a stick perpendicularly fixed in the centre of one of them, passes through a hole bored in the other's centre, which lies on its top, through

which the grain is dropped from the hand : near the edge of the upper stone is placed a handle of wood, for the purpose of moving round ; these machines are constructed with much simplicity, and may be worked by one or two persons. The quantity of corn which may be ground by them in the course of a few hours, is very considerable.

At present, the trade of Tripoli is chiefly confined to Malta, Tunis, and the Levant ; the vessels employed, are Maltese, Ottoman, and a few under the Tripoline colours ; and a considerable port-duty is exacted upon all vessels entering the harbour. An extensive caravan passes this city every year from Morocco, on its way to Mecca ; and this journey is a commercial speculation, as well as a religious duty. Of course, the pilgrims carry with them several articles for the Arabian markets ; these usually consist of Halsan silks, damask, taffety, ivory, ostrich feathers, Fezzan dates, Venetian glass, and beads. They bring back Eastern-striped silks, muslins, calicces, Mocha coffee, drugs of various kinds ; cornelian, and other precious stones. The Fez and Gadarnes caravans, also come to Tripoli twice a year, and bring the fruits of their previous journey to Bornou and Timbuctoo, consisting of gold-dust, pearls, ostrich feathers, negroes, saffron, drugs, senna, camels' hair, camels, mules, antelopes, &c. These commodities are changed here for coarse European cloths, a few silks, baracans of the country, Tunisian caps, powder, muskets, very light, with long barrels ; pistols, scimitars, hardware, glass, beads, toys, looking-glasses, &c. The quantity of gold-dust brought by these caravans, is very considerable, and their conductors are said to be remarkable for plain and honest dealing with the inhabitants of Tripoli. The traders who come from Bornou and Soudan, are noticed for an unsuspecting simplicity of manner, unknown to people of a more

refined character; they have frequently deposited large quantities of gold-dust, which was only tied up with a string, at the Consular house, and on taking it away next morning, betrayed no symptoms of alarm, as to its quantity having been diminished. In their dealings with Jews, and the people of Tripoli, there is also a most striking contrast observed; for, to their fair candour and honesty, nothing but craft and fraud are opposed.

Caravans from the interior come here in the winter, and return towards spring; these would afford every facility to an European traveller, who might accompany them properly prepared, a precaution seldom sufficiently attended to.

The mules of Tripoli, though not quite so large as those of Tunis, are fully as well qualified for bearing fatigue. Pasturage being thought very little of here, the mutton requires a deal of fattening, when sent to Malta, &c. Beef, at Tripoli, is generally good, but the lamb is exquisite. Surprise has been expressed, that the Fezzan sheep are not bred in England or Sicily. This animal is generally the size of a three-months' old calf, and, instead of wool, is covered with a species of hair; the flesh, of course, has not the delicacy of mutton, but is very good. This sheep is also remarkable for its docility and domesticating quality, as it is frequently seen following its proprietor in the streets. The common sheep-tails, like those of the Cape of Good Hope, are composed of fat, and usually weigh from eight to ten pounds; this fat the common people prepare, and use as a substitute for butter.

Antelopes, of a large size and beautiful symmetry, brought to the market here, are chiefly kept as domestic favourites, and for the purpose of being exported to Malta. The Jerboa, or Pharaoh rat, abounds in the gardens near the city, and is a common article of food with the lowest people: it is

considerably larger than the European rat, and its flesh is said to be very tender.

The religion professed throughout the regency of Tripoli, is purely Mahometan, from the bashaw to the lowest classes of his subjects, whether Moors, Turks, or Arabs; and such is the veneration in which these tenets are held, that instances of apostacy are scarcely ever heard of among them: public tranquillity is therefore never interrupted by those rancorous quarrels about religious opinions, that distract other countries. Their toleration, likewise, of other religions, is most complete; for, though Jews and Christians are personally held in contempt, it is remarkable, with what a degree of veneration our modes of worship and funeral processions, are invariably treated by these people.

The sanctity attributed to idiots, is certainly one of the most extraordinary opinions connected with the Mahometan belief. The only reason given for this singular predilection, is, "that being deprived of free-will, God has made them so, and they are entitled to the veneration of men." These objects of Mahometan devotion, are mostly to be seen under some arch leading into the city, and are very often supposed to assume the character of fools, for some sinister purposes of their own. Their graves, like those of the priests, are regarded as sanctuaries; where, if a criminal takes refuge, he must not be forcibly removed, though he may be starved. The holidays, in Barbary, are very few, and never interrupt the operations of trade or commerce. The Ramadan is the Mahometan Lent, and lasts thirty days. This rigid fast is succeeded by what they call Bairam; which, like our Easter, lasts three days: of course, devoted to unlimited festivity, of which eating and drinking form the chief feature. On this occasion, those who can afford it, kill a sheep, which is roasted whole, and when stuffed with sweetmeats of various

kinds, is considered by the people of Tripoli as the *ne plus ultra* of the culinary art. The Bairam is also enlivened by several Moorish sports, such as dancing girls, and naked wrestlers, whose bodies are rubbed over with soap and oil; walkers on stilts twenty feet high, musicians, roundabouts, &c.

The existence of elves, or fairies, who are supposed to inhabit under ground, and influence the destinies of mortals, is implicitly believed by the Moors: many even imagine that they are betrothed in marriage to these ideal beings. A Moorish woman never throws any warm water on the ground, without previously ejaculating, "I mean no harm to you, therefore do none to me." A wonderful degree of importance is also attached to what is called "the evil eye:" persons, animals, horses, in short, every article of furniture, is provided with a charm, to counteract an evil eye. This consists of a small hand painted on whatever they wish to preserve; and the silver bracelets, worn by women, have two triangles carved on them, intersecting each other at right angles. Horses, mules, and camels, have also a charm suspended round their necks. Hands and triangles are painted over the entrances to the bashaw's castle; and those of the mosques, and all the private houses, are protected by the figure of a hand.

Such is the respect paid to the dead, in Tripoli, that their friends make it a rule to visit the tombs periodically, for the purpose of giving vent to the feelings of sorrow, a degree of sympathy which would not disgrace Christians. The general burying-ground is situate outside the city-gates; and in the centre of this cemetery stands the mausoleum of a most celebrated corsair, Rais Dragut, whose personal bravery and intrepidity equalled either of the Barbarossas, of one of whom he was the *élève*. This extraordinary character, born in Natolia, was remarkable

for the traits of humanity which sometimes elevated his bosom. He was viceroy of Tripoli, and in 1565 proceeded to Malta with a large force, to assist Piale, the Turkish general, employed in the second armada against that island. A stone splinter, produced by a shot from the castle of St. Angelo, put a period to Dragut's existence, shortly after he landed. Such is the veneration in which his memory is held here, that the captains of the cruisers, previously to their sailing from Tripoli, proceed, accompanied by their officers and crews, to his tomb, and formally implore his protection during the expedition. There is a small burial-ground nearer the town, at which every corpse going to be deposited in the other, is delayed for a short time, in order that a prayer may be said, according to an old custom. The bashaw's family, and the bodies of saints, are exclusively permitted to be buried in the city. The Regent's family mansion is close to the grand mosque in the vicinity of his palace. The christian burial-place is without the walls of the city, near the sea.

The marriage-ceremonies at Tripoli, are invariably performed by night, and attended with considerable gaiety. The bride is conveyed to the bridegroom's residence by her parents and friends, preceded by a band of men bearing lanterns, and playing upon tabors: these are followed by slaves, carrying baskets of henna and various perfumes, together with the jewels and night-ropes of the bride, who is also preceded by a slave, who, walking backwards, presents a looking-glass towards her; a number of women are also in the train, and continue to make a great noise, till the procession arrives at its destination; and feasting, music, and dancing, continue till midnight, when the company retire. Females here, as well as in several of the warm climates, are often married under twelve years of age. If the bride is an Arab, and has any considerable distance to go, she is

placed in a wicker-cradle, borne by a camel, and attended by several men on horseback, who, as they proceed, keep up a continual fire of musketry, and perform various feats of horsemanship.

Soldiers and sailors, of whom there are many in this capital, when in the company of loose women, frequently shew their insensibility to pain, by the voluntary application of fire to different parts of their bodies. They also suffer these ladies to run a knife into their arms or legs : those who evince the greatest degree of firmness in these trials, are, of course, honoured with more confidence and esteem than the rest.

Gambling, at Tripoli, is almost unknown, though chess, and a game called mangolo, occupy a considerable portion of the time of those who frequent coffee-houses. In their quarrels here with each other, they seldom have recourse to blows, as a violent dispute generally terminates every disagreement.

The costume of this city scarcely differs from that of Tunis, and the other parts of Barbary. The Arabs wear a sort of brown baracan, and turban ; the former is thrown carelessly over the body, and by being pinned on the left shoulder, has a very graceful appearance. As all are obliged, by law, to serve as military, so every one is armed ; the weapons consist of a sword, called tagena, a case of pistols, and a dagger, and when on horseback, a musket is added.

The sciences and liberal arts being quite unknown to these people, they possess a large share of that self-conceit which is the never-failing companion of ignorance ; they not only despise European improvements, but are so absurd as to believe themselves our superiors in several respects. Their literature is confined to a knowledge of the Koran, and a few Eastern tales, beyond which they never aspire.

The arts of design and perspective, and every other species of refinement, excepting what is absolutely necessary for the simplest wants of nature, are unknown. Medicine and surgery are the only sciences which they have brought to, what they consider, a degree of the highest perfection: some observations, therefore, relative to their method of curing diseases will amuse, if not inform, the curious observer of men and manners.

The number of physicians throughout Tripoli, is not equal to what we have in a London hospital; and such is the uninterrupted health enjoyed by all classes of the community, that these have but little practice. Their fees seldom exceed sixpence, and even operations are performed for a shilling. Nothing is internally administered to patients, except herbs of different kinds; regimen is the great resource during sickness. The surgical instruments here would doubtless excite the risibility of our faculty; they consist of a few irons of different sizes, with figures marked on the ends; these are applied to various parts of the body, as the nature of the diseases require. The surprising effects in many instances that came within Mr. Blaquiere's observation, furnishes a most interesting ground of speculative inquiry as to the effects of fire and heat on the human system. However incredible the assertion may appear, he observes, "I have, during my intercourse with Tunis and this place, known several attacks of the rheumatism to be removed by the application of irons; and one case, in which a person suffering from the effects of rupture, received the greatest relief. The instrument is mostly applied behind one of the ears, and often under the ankles; wounds are generally burnt out by them, and ulcers of a serious nature are frequently cured. Ludicrous as this relation of Barbary operations may appear to the host of empirics who swarm on our shore, there is no per-

son who has calmly observed things in this country, who will not bear testimony to the truth of what I have advanced. There are no public hospitals, and, as before observed, cripples, or people of a deformed appearance, are never seen in public." "Broken bones and fractures are very successfully treated; the ostrich grease is universally applied to them, and to contusions of every description. Amputations are performed with amazing celerity: the arteries are not taken up, as in Europe; and a limb is no sooner taken off, than the stump is dipped into a bowl of hot pitch, which generally stops the bleeding, and soon effects a cure. In fact, when we reflect on the simplicity of treating diseases in this almost savage country, compared with the innumerable medical impositions peculiar to our own, it is impossible not to deplore the progress of refinement; which, if it has raised us above other people in so many ways, has also created a number of imaginary evils unknown to a less civilized state of society.

Though every man is armed in the Tripoline territory; whenever troops are wanted, an indiscriminate levy takes place, and all those who may be called upon, are obliged to march. The utmost extent of any force raised has not exceeded fifteen thousand men, which might be routed by two thousand Europeans. During the summer, a small camp of infantry and cavalry is formed outside the city gates: the cavalry are tolerably well mounted, and very active in the evolutions performed by the Mamelukes of Egypt. The whole number kept on foot by the bashaw do not exceed three thousand men, and they receive very little pay.

When the yearly tribute becomes due, the bashaw's eldest son is sent out with an armed force to collect it: his progress is marked with rapine and plunder; as instead of levying a regular contribution, he forcibly

takes away property according to what he supposes is equal to the prosperity of the individual; and upon the slightest complaint he inflicts the severest punishment.

CHAP. XXII.

*Site of Ancient Carthage—Canal and Aqueduct—
Temple of Æsculapius—Udena—An Amphitheatre—A Temple, &c.—Vaults or Cells—Tunis—
Biserta—Christian Slaves—Trade—Manufacture of Caps, &c.*

PROCEEDING eastward towards Carthage, we shall find the complaint that Africa in the vicinity of that city has not been sufficiently explored, in a great measure obviated by Mr. Grey Jackson. The site of ancient Carthage appeared to him to have been a most excellent situation for commerce; no part of the world, he says, could afford better accommodation for shipping. Here is a lake about ten miles long, and five miles broad at the widest part, in a direct line between the ruins of Carthage and the city of Tunis, and communicating with the sea by a navigable canal at the Goletta. On examining this lake, he found that it had once been about eighteen feet in depth, with a hard bottom, except a part of the east side, lying near the sea, between the Goletta and Tunis. Here are the remains of houses for about three miles; and Mr. Jackson took a great deal of pains to satisfy his curiosity respecting these houses. The breadth of the space they occupied, at the broadest part, did not appear to have been above a mile. Some of the tops of them were not above a foot under the surface of the water. At the Goletta, there is generally a rise and fall of the tide about three feet; but the

canal between the sea and the lake being very narrow, it does not raise the water in the lake so much. Mr. Jackson's people frequently walked on the tops of the houses, but were sometimes in danger from meeting with places beyond their depth. One of them having shot at a flamingo, and broke its wing, pursued it over these houses, where the boats could not go, and had nearly lost his life by falling into some deep holes. Many parts of this lake are now scarcely navigable, and particularly towards Tunis, since the Moors will not take the trouble to clear away the immense quantity of mud and filth continually washing into it from the city of Tunis, which has been accumulating for many ages.

The ruins of ancient Carthage are about twelve miles north-west of Tunis, in a pleasant situation, and reckoned very healthy, commanding an extensive prospect over the gulf of Tunis, as well as the interior of the country; but there are no fresh streams of running water near; to remedy which, the ancient Carthaginians, during their prosperity, were at immense labour and expense, in conducting a considerable stream of fresh water, from the mountain Zuan, about forty miles south-east of Carthage. This stream is at present remarkable for its good quality in dying scarlet; all articles that are to be died of that colour, are still carried from Tunis to Zuan. The length of this aqueduct is above seventy miles, and by means of it the Carthaginians conducted the stream through mountains, and over valleys. Considerable remains of it are still to be seen. Near Udena there is a range of above one thousand arches, where it had been conveyed across a valley; some of the arches in the middle of the valley are above one hundred feet high. Mr. Jackson had every reason to believe this aqueduct, and especially this great range of arches near Udena, had been repaired by the Romans, every arch being regularly numbered in Roman characters. The

cement used in building this aqueduct, seems as durable as the stones themselves, though they are harder than our limestone, and of a yellowish colour. In the conduit where the waters have run, there is a cement of about four inches thick, which in some places has fallen down in flakes, one hundred feet in length, yet still adheres together. The conduit is about six feet high within, and four feet broad, yet two people cannot conveniently walk together in it, on account of its being arched at the top to a point. At Uriana, a village four miles north-west of Tunis, many arches of the aqueduct are of a considerable height, but not in so perfect a state as at Udena, the Bey of Tunis having taken away many of the stones to build his palace at Manuba. Where the stream has been conveyed through a mountain, at every sixty yards there is a round hole about four feet in diameter, very neatly walled with hewn stone, and the wall is continued about four feet above the surface of the earth, to prevent any thing falling in; the stones are very neatly rounded at top.

There is no difficulty in tracing the remains of this aqueduct, all the way from Zuan to Carthage, following the course of it, through mountains and over valleys. In magnitude, it is thought to exceed any thing of the kind in Asia or Europe, of either ancient or modern architecture. Its neat execution and high finishing, has been the cause of its lasting so many ages; in some places it is so very perfect that it does not appear to have received the least injury. This country abounds in ruins, many of which are still very considerable; even in Carthage there are some remains of its former greatness. The reservoirs for water are still very perfect, being all arched over; they are not exposed, the walls being generally covered with a thick and strong cement. Through some of these broken places in the arches Mr. Jackson descended, and went into some neat square

chambers, communicating one with another, being covered with a very strong cement. Some of the rooms were so perfect, that Mr. Jackson could not discover the least flaw in the plaster, which was very little discoloured. He was informed that the walls of some of these chambers were covered with handsome paintings; but he could not find any able guide to conduct him to them.

The plough now passes over the greatest part of the ruins of Carthage, and Mr. Jackson saw a very abundant crop of wheat, under which were some handsome apartments in a very perfect state; the floors of the chambers were all laid with gyps, or gypsum. To get down into some of these, Mr. Jackson was frequently obliged to crawl upon his hands and knees, but after he got into them he often found them cool and pleasant; and though scorpions and other venomous reptiles were numerous above ground, he never saw any in the chambers. To guard against them, he wore boots and strong gloves.

There are no very considerable remains of buildings to be seen on the surface; the principal is said to have been part of the temple of *Æsculapius*; it consists of some mussy walls above thirty feet in height, and about twelve thick. These are near the sea at the lower part of Carthage, towards the *Goletta* along the shore, facing the Gulf of Tunis, where the sea has made encroachments on the land, for above a mile and a half. The stones used for foundations of some houses seen here, are in general very large, and the whole forms an oblong square, their greatest length projecting towards the sea. The rooms Mr. Jackson saw in the former ruins, were about eighteen feet square; but others are three times as large. The ancient coins, &c. found by the Bedouin Arabs, who are ignorant of their value, have been generally sold to the Jews. It is very difficult to form an accurate

idea of the extent of ancient Carthage, but it does not appear to have been above nine miles in circumference; the principal part lies on the side of a hill, which narrows as it rises almost to an angle, on the north side towards Porto Farino; this promontory, or cape, is still distinguished on the charts by the name of Cape Carthage. On the north side of the hill down to the sea it is very steep, and does not appear ever to have been much inhabited; it continues very steep on the east side towards the sea, to a considerable distance. Among the ruins of this once celebrated city, Mr. Jackson found marble of almost every description, but mostly in small pieces; in building their palaces, the Beys, no doubt, have been particularly careful to select the largest and best for the purpose.

Udena is situated about twenty miles south of Tunis; it appears to have been a city of some consequence, though never mentioned by Lee, Dr. Shaw, or any other traveller. Its remains are in a more perfect state than any other ruins in Barbary. It is situated on a hill, having an easy ascent to it on every side, and the ruins extend about five miles in circumference. The cisterns or reservoirs for water here, have scarcely received any injury; the arches which form their roofs seem to have been preserved by the earth, which has covered them to a considerable depth. The cisterns are at least a quarter of a mile south of the principal ruins of this city.

The remains of a noble amphitheatre are about 200 yards in circumference, taking its extent from the highest seats in the galleries. It is of an oval shape; the principal entrances are one at each end, at the bottom or ground floor of the building; these two entrances have been very broad. There are sixteen other entrances for the spectators, eight on each side, perfectly uniform, and from each entrance

there is a staircase to ascend into the galleries. From the bottom or ground-floor of the amphitheatre, to the lowest seats in the galleries, is about thirty feet perpendicular, solid wall, quite smooth; the whole has been built with hewn stone, generally of a large size, harder than our limestone, and of a yellowish colour. Near the amphitheatre are several large marble columns standing in rows at equal distances. There appears to have been an immense pile of building standing on the highest ground, probably the citadel; and within it is a bath of a semicircular form, almost perfect. The whole of the bath is beautifully inlaid with mosaic work, in which are drawn several female figures, swimming in various attitudes, as perfectly as in any painting, being done with variously coloured marbles, still in very good preservation. Above the human figures are several aquatic fowls drawn in the same style, and the whole coloured so as to resemble nature. Mr. Jackson having no instruments to cut them out, was much mortified. The mosaic work is highly finished, and so strongly cemented together, that without a very narrow inspection, it could not be ascertained as such. Near the baths are the ruins of many elegant buildings, supposed to have been temples, or other public works; one of the most perfect has two rows of pillars in the inside, and a gallery, still entire, by which persons may walk round the whole of the building on the outside. The temple is an oblong, about forty yards in length; with an entrance at each end. There was no roof over the centre of the building, this being covered on each side only, as far as the two rows of pillars. The masonry is not of the most massy kind; the pillars and the whole of the structure are quite plain, without any carved ornaments.

Near this temple an immense heavy pile seems to have been a place of considerable strength. Many of the stones would weigh three tons; the whole of

this is arched over, and upon careful examination, appeared to have been a prison. There is a very large hall, which has probably been arched over; four large entrances into it are arched likewise. The entrance is very similar to passing under the arch of a bridge; and this hall is capable of holding 2,000 persons. Underneath this building are vaults or cells, running round the whole; there is a staircase on each side of the hall, leading down to the vaults. Mr. Jackson and his companions, each carrying a light, went down one of these staircases. They found it difficult to enter the vaults, and were obliged to creep down flat upon the rubbish, before they could enter. The vaults or cells, they found about fifteen feet in height, and the doorways between them very small. From the surface of the earth to the bottom of these cells, is at least forty feet perpendicular. None of the Bedouin Arabs could be prevailed upon to accompany Mr. Jackson down into the vaults. It did not appear that the least ray of light had been admitted into these gloomy abodes, and the air was so much confined as to occasion some inconvenience. To guard against ravenous beasts, with which the country abounds, Mr. Jackson took a double-barreled gun with him; but he met with nothing but foxes. The ceiling was covered with bats of a large size, which, when disturbed, flew about, and very much endangered the lights; though, for precaution, the party had taken with them a dark lantern. In one of the smallest cells, Mr. Jackson fired a gun, to try what effect the air would have in such a confined space; this, though well charged, had little effect, and was scarcely heard by the people above. It seemed, notwithstanding to rarify the air a little, and render it more tolerable; but though the walls and ceilings were quite black, as if occasioned by smoke, it did *not* stain the hand.

About two miles north of this supposed citadel is a very fine stream of fresh water, and over the valley, through which it runs, is the greatest range of arches in the Carthaginian aqueduct. The whole of the surrounding country seems to have been once cultivated, and would no doubt still afford very abundant crops. At present, there is not the least appearance of cultivation, such is the degraded state of what was formerly considered one of the most fertile countries in the world. The few Bedouins occupying the tents in this neighbourhood appeared half-starved, and were very happy to accept of any victuals from Mr. Jackson and his party, and to fetch them fresh water in return.

In the deep wells among the ruins of Udena, the wild-pigeons build their nests: when stones are thrown down the wells, the pigeons fly up and are caught. The infatuation of the Bedouins in sowing corn among the ruins, struck Mr. Jackson very forcibly, and he supposed that if the prospect they had of finding treasure, was their principal motive, they certainly would know how to turn what they found to a better account. A Bedouin will sell the most valuable antique to a Jew for a *carob*, about three-halfpence English money, and the gold and silver for much less than their weight in the current coin of the country; and to Mr. Jackson's repeated inquiries, why they preferred to live among the ruins of ancient cities, he could never get a satisfactory answer.

Tunis, the ancient *Tunes*, is neither remarkable for the number of its inhabitants, nor for its public or private edifices. It is greatly in want of good water. The houses in general are one story high, with flat roofs. The Bey's palace, which is the most magnificent edifice in the city, contains four superb gates, one in each front, with a lofty turret at every angle. The courts are spacious, the galleries pro-

lusely ornamented, and the different apartments very splendid. Tunis contains several colleges and schools, in which the doctors of the Mahometan law and others are educated. The principal fortification is the castle, seated on an eminence.

The other cities of note are Biserta, near which is supposed to be the *Sinus Hipponiensis* of the ancients; Nabel, the Colonia Neapolis of Ptolemy; Cairwan, the Vico Augusti of antiquity; Beja, the Vacca of Sallust, and Gassa, anciently denominated Capsa. Tunis is governed by a Bey, who is independent of the Porte, and politeness and civilization here is much superior to any thing at Algiers. Exempt from the pride, insolence, and barbarity of the Algerines, they are affable in their manners, friendly and obliging to strangers, and faithful to their compacts.

The Christian slaves kept by them are treated with a considerable share of lenity and indulgence, and any representations made by the European consuls in their favour, are always heard with attention and candour. The native children born here, have the finest complexions imaginable; the boys, however, are soon tinged with a swarthy complexion by the heat of the sun; but the girls, who are retained in doors, preserve their native beauty till they are past child-bearing, which is usually at the age of thirty. They are frequently mothers at eleven, and as their longevity is equal to that of Europeans, they often live to see several generations. The dress of both sexes, though nearly of the same form as the Algerines, is considerably neater, and more genteel. When they see company, or go abroad, they wear drawers; but when at home, they sometimes only bind a piece of linen round their waist. The females are extremely fond of long hair, which they collect and plait with ribands; and those to whom nature is unkind in this respect, supply this ornament from

of the eye-lids, are tinged with pulveri-
performed by dipping a wooden bod
powder, and drawing it under the eye-l
municates a sable hue, which is here c
becoming every complexion, and cons
perfection of beauty.

Jealousy also prevails less at Tunis th
in other states in this part of the globe.
who use the baths, dispose of a great
ferous gums and rich perfumes in this mo
tion. The taverns at Tunis are better re
in the neighbouring countries; for even
becomes insolent or intoxicated, may be
his turban, till he has made satisfaction t
party. They sell only white wine, the
the surrounding country, and this is extr
and good. Provisions are so plentiful, t
chaser of a single quart of wine at a taver
has two or three dishes of fish and flesh p
him. The natives are very fond of a con
called *harix*, which is highly exhilaratin
duces much the same effects as opium.

In the habitation of a person of qual
may be perceived at the porch or entrance

rocco leather. The manufacture of scull-caps, which employs several thousand persons, is thus conducted : The wool is first combed, and spun into a thick soft thread, which is twined and knit into caps of a conical form, like a night-cap. These are next soaked in oil ; and on a form put upon the knee of the manufacturer, are milled down, by turning and rubbing the sides together. By this process they are reduced to about one-third of their original size. When the cap begins to thicken, great care is taken to bring out the nap : this is done by brushing it down with a curious long bur, which nature seems to have made for the purpose. A pair of large shears is used, to clip off the parts of the wool which may be too long for the beauty of the manufacture. Thus reduced, the caps, brushed and clipped, become of the form of a semi-globe. In this state they are sent to Zuan or Zawan, about thirty miles distant from Tunis, where they are mostly died of a deep crimson colour. The water of Zawan is the only water in the regency that can be used for this kind of dying, as none besides can give a colour so beautiful and so well fixed as never to fade. The caps, after being died, are returned to the manufacturer, and are milled again somewhat thicker, combed and clipped with greater care than before ; and finally dressed in a manner so elegant, that they actually appear as if made of rich velvet ; and they are generally decorated with a neat tassel of mazarine blue silk.

The woollen stuffs manufactured here, are of a thin texture, in some degree resembling a soft serge. All classes of Moors are dressed more or less in this manufacture. Most of the poorer sort have no other dress than a scull-cap, and a blanket thrown round the body and shoulders, in several turns. Others have turbans, and girdles of woollen, and almost all have a cloak, or *bernous*, as it is called. The women have a robe of woollen gauze thrown round them,

some with silk stripes, and many of them wear shawls both long and square, of the same species of manufacture. The shawls are died of different colours, very brilliant, and are to be seen in every city in Turkey. The manufacture of Morocco leather is also considerable. Great quantities of died skins are annually exported from the country; and as almost all the Moors of condition wear red leather slippers or boots, the consumption of this article is by no means trifling. Mr. Macgill's very correct and interesting Account of Tunis, contains every kind of commercial intelligence relative to this quarter.

CHAP. XXIII.

Ali Bashaw--A Prince of Bornou--A gloomy Forest--A Moorish Marriage--Wives and Daughters of the Bashaw--Instances of Cruelty--Manner of Mourning--Ornamenting the Dead--Ill Omens--Manner of Eating--Curious Bill of Fare--Education--Mr. Blaquiere--Female Corpulency--Jealousy--Practice of Stabbing--Jews--Arab Women--Arab Hospitality--Predominant Character of the Moors--Mode of Eating and Drinking--Superstitions--Muley Solyman--Muley Yezid--The Dey of Algiers--Conspiracy--Wanton Barbarity--Sidi Useph--A Scene of Distress--Death of the Bey--Period of Mourning.

THE amusing narrative of Mr. Tully's residence in Tripoli, is appropriated less to the political, than to the domestic manners of the inhabitants. The letters being the composition of a lady, the sister-in-law of Mr. Tully, contain a number of curious particulars. It fortunately happened that Ali Bashaw, the ruler of Tripoli, during the ten years, from (1783 to 1793) of the correspondence in question, was a mild governor, and particularly anxious that respect should be paid to the Christian residents. This disposition led to the enjoyment of a period of tranquillity of unusual

length for that disturbed country ; and it appears in the sequel, that the sex of the writer gave her various advantages, and even admission into the family of the Bey. A dreadful plague ravaged Tripoli in 1785 and 1786, which is described in several successive letters.

Besides a considerable portion of domestic history, recited in this volume, mostly descriptive of manners, what is here related of a prince of Bornou, who came from the interior of Africa in quest of information, may be deemed of some importance. The most striking parts of his dress were the pearls that he wore, all of an uncommon size ; he had no nose ring ; but his large gold ear-rings were set with the most valuable jewels. His attendants were composed of Turks and Blacks, all well armed and accoutred. The relations given by the Moors concerning *Bornou*, are not repeated without caution. This prince, however, represented it as a most fertile country, abounding with grapes, apricots, and pomegranates. He said, though some wild beasts are seen there, they are not so numerous as in the deserts between Tunis and Tripoli, the most dangerous of any to cross, on account of the number of lions and tigers that infest the mountains and woods near the former place. He also represented his subjects as free from the dreadful customs of the nations surrounding them, who eat, sacrifice, and sell the blacks ; adding, that only those who call themselves Christians, and the Pagans, commit such enormities.

Even a part of the road from Tunis to Tripoli cannot be passed without great danger, on account of wild beasts, which not unfrequently attack passengers in spite of the precautions taken to prevent their approach. The Bashaw's physician, a Sicilian, notwithstanding, performed this tremendous journey by land, with his wife and two children. He joined an immense caravan, that being the only method by which he could traverse the deserts, and proceed in

safety. This Sicilian often describes the gloomy and impenetrable forest they passed, where the repeated howlings of wild beasts, excited by the scent of cattle accompanying the caravan, were increased as it drew near their horrible dens. Sometimes the caravan was constrained to remain several days near these woods, to avoid the approaching hurricane of the desert they were about to pass; for, by the aspect of the heavens, those that frequent the deserts, can often foresee these dreadful winds many hours before they happen. No sooner were the tents pitched, and the caravan become stationary, than a peculiar noise in the forest announced the wild beasts verging to the borders of it, there to wait a favourable opportunity to rush out and seize their prey. The dreadful roar of the lion was not heard in the day, but when the darkness of night came on, continued murmurs announced him; and his voice getting louder, broke like peals of thunder on the stillness of the night. The panther and the tiger were seen early in the evening to make circuits nearer and nearer round the caravan. In the centre of it were placed the tents, with the women, children, and flocks; the cattle were ranged next, and the camels, horses, and dogs last. One chain of uninterrupted fire, encircling the whole, was kept continually blazing during every night. On the least failure of these fires, the lion was instantly heard to come closer to the caravan. At his roar the sheep and lambs shook as if in an ague; the horses, without attempting to move, were instantaneously covered with a strong perspiration from the terror; the cries of the cattle were distressing; the dogs started from every part of the caravan and assembling together in one spot, seemed endeavouring, by their united howlings, to frighten away the savage devourer, from whose tremendous power nothing was able to save them but a fresh blaze of fire. Twice during this journey, the lion was seen to carry off his prey, each

time a sheep, to the universal terror of the affrighted spectators, who in vain, with fire-arms, endeavoured to prevent him.

The following particulars are given of a Moorish Marriage :

The song of *loo-loo-loo*, performed by the hired singing-women, on the occasion of a marriage, commences, when the procession leaves the bride's father's house, and concludes when it enters the bridegroom's.

In general the bride is paraded round the streets at the head of the procession, shut up in a sort of cage which is covered with fine linen, and placed on the back of a horse, mule, or ass, according to the circumstances of the parties; and this strange custom prevails among all true Mussulmen from the shores of the Yellow Sea to those of the Atlantic. The procession ended, the bride receives the visitors, sitting on an elevated seat, with an embroidered veil thrown over her, almost covered with gold and silver ornaments; and having rings of gold around the ankles, of four or five pounds weight. Two slaves attend, to support the two tresses of her hair behind, which are so much adorned with jewels, and gold and silver ornaments, that, rising from her seat, she could not support her immense weight.

To understand the nature of this mass of hair, we must observe, that a Moorish lady, in her dressing-room, is attended by a number of black slaves to plait, another to perfume the hair, a third to arrange the eye-brows, a fourth to paint the face, a fifth to adjust the jewels, &c. The hair behind is divided into two tresses, into which a quantity of black silk is worked, prepared with perfumes and scented waters of various kinds, after which about a quarter of a pound of cloves, reduced to the finest powder, is worked into them; the fingers and feet are then stained black with *henna*, her fingers are covered with rings; and lastly, a string of gold and silver beads are thrown over

her shoulders, as a charm against witchcraft or an evil eye. Mr. Tully acknowledged that he had no idea of the brilliant display of gold, silver, and jewels, so lavishly exhibited within the dungeon walls of the castle of Tripoli; and, with the exception of Abul Kurreem's description of the peacock throne, and the jewels which Nadir Shah carried away from Delhi, and exhibited to the astonished Afghans, Turcomans, and Tartars, nothing is equal to the splendour of Tripoli, in any part of the East. But all these tyrants are immensely rich in gold and silver; their whole business is to collect, and they expend nothing. It is not unusual to employ Jews in casting old brass guns into money, and buying with it, gold sequins and Spanish dollars to hoard. Colonel Keatinge met with an English renegade, whose name in his own country was Thomas Myers, but in Morocco, Boazar, and his office was that of alcaide, a sort of high constable. This man being questioned as to the pay of the soldiery, said, "it was all that they could rob and steal;" and the establishment of the younger branches of the royal family, was, by his account, supported pretty nearly from the same resources. The wealth of the sovereign is therefore continually increasing; hence we read of "curds and whey served up on tables of mother-of-pearl and silver; and gold embossed waiters, above three feet in diameter, placed on gold trays." On a visit to Lilla Halluma, a lady of the highest distinction in Tripoli, the coffee was served in very small cups of china, placed in gold filagree cups, without saucers, on a solid gold salver, of an uncommon size, richly embossed; this massive waiter was brought in by two slaves, who bore it between them round to each of the company, and these two eunuchs were the richest habited slaves Mr. Tully's family had seen in the castle. Refreshments were afterwards served up on low, beautifully inlaid tables, not higher than a foot from the ground. After

the repast, slaves attended with silver flagree censers, offering at the same time towels with gold ends, wove in them nearly half a yard deep.

Yet amidst all this splendour, the wives and daughters of the bashaw are by no means inattentive to domestic concerns; they knit, weave, and embroider, and even occupy themselves with spinning wool; they superintend the preparation of the victuals, and the married ladies wait on their husbands at their meals; and in return, the only privilege they seem to enjoy, is that of having the power of preventing their tyrants from entering their apartment, by placing their slippers outside of the door. They are early permitted to go outside of the castle-gates, and then only by night, surrounded by a numerous guard of soldiers, slaves, and attendants. Their approach is announced by vociferous shouting, lights, and burning perfumes, which cast a cloud of aromatic odour around them. During this time it would be death for any one to look at them, even from a window, Tripoli being the only Moorish town on the coast in which the houses have windows facing the street. Of so little concern, however, is the life of a female to society, that a father, husband, or brother, can easily procure a *teskerar*, or permit, from the bashaw or Bey, to put the object of his anger or jealousy to death in any way he pleases. The dishonour of a wife or daughter can only be avenged by her death. Several instances of this kind are recorded in Mr. Tully's narrative; among others, that of a beautiful young woman, who, for her levity of conduct, was shot in her bed by her cousin, in the absence of her father, but the wound did not prove mortal. After her recovery she took a walk in the garden, in a corner of which she was discovered lying on the ground strangled: "All present were interrogated about the dreadful deed, which every one denied. It was then declared, and readily

acquainted with, or dependent upon the
scream over the dead, and mourn with
relatives of the deceased. According to
of this country, the widow, or the afflicted
must receive the visits of not less than
women who come to condole with her.
take her in their arms, they lay her on
shoulder, and scream without intermission
minutes, till the afflicted object, stunned
constant howling and repetition of her
sinks on the floor; they likewise hire
women, who make this horrid noise round
placed in the middle of the court-yard
over which these women scratch their feet
a degree, that they appear to have been
lancet. After the ceremony is over, they
sort of white chalk, to heal the wounds
blood. These women are hired in
burials, weddings, and feasts: at the time
sing the song loo-loo-loo, and extempore
Their voices are heard to a considerable

It should have been observed, that when
is thought to be dying, he is immediately

ground, he or she is instantly washed, and the greatest consolation their friends can have, is to see the dying person smile while they are performing this operation. This accounts for the numerous instances of premature interment which happen among the Moors.

The dead, however, are always dressed for the grave: the ears, nostrils, and eye-lids, are stuffed with a preparation of camphor and rich spices. An unmarried woman is ornamented as a bride, and bracelets are put on her arms and ankles. The body is wrapped in fine white linen, sanctified at Mecca, which is generally procured in their lifetime, and carefully preserved for their last dress. At the head of the coffin, is placed a turban, correspondent with his rank, if the deceased be a male; if a female, a large bouquet of flowers; if a virgin, the *loo-loo-loo*, is sung by hired women, that she may not be laid in the ground without having had the benefit of the wedding song. On Fridays, the eve of the Mahometan sabbath, the women visit the tombs of their deceased relatives, under the idea that on that day the dead hover round to meet their friends. The tombs are neatly white-washed, and kept in constant repair; flowers are planted round them, and no weeds suffered to grow. Small chapels are generally built over the tombs of persons of rank, and ornamented with flowers, placed in large china vases.

The Moors are great observers of ill-omens; what they most dread is the influence of an evil spirit or eye; to counteract which they wear charms round the neck, or carry in their bosom a portion of the Koran. The usual way of preparing this last preventive is to write down certain verses of the Koran, to burn them, and to mix the ashes with some liquid to be swallowed fasting. How this strange talisman is to operate on the evil spirit, they presume not to inquire. The custom, handed down from time im-

memorial, has rendered the belief hereditary, and he who doubts the influence of this amulet, is in danger of being ranked with infidels. There can be little doubt, that the virtue on which they rely, arises from the ashes of the burnt leaves of the Koran, for whatever belongs to this sacred book, is always held in the highest veneration, but why they should be more efficacious after having passed through the fire, than before they submitted to this consuming ordeal, is not for either them or us to know. Saints and sanctuaries are very numerous among the Moors, and the former are devoutly invoked by the men for the cure of their diseases, for the fertility of their lands, for success in their undertakings, and by the women for blessings on themselves and their children. In country places, immediately after harvest, a gratitude offering is presented to the presiding deity, which, being received by his priest, is no doubt honourably appropriated.

Madmen, idiots, and dotards, are supposed to be possessed by a divine spirit; and charms against wizards, sorcerers, the poison of serpents, and venomous insects, can always be procured. In providing for an entertainment, every thing is repugnant to European manners. The following bill of fare of an imperial feast sent to the house of the English resident, cannot but amuse the curious. It was brought by two men, sweating under the load of a hand-barrow, the contents of which were an enormous china bowl filled with coos-cosoo, the national dish, and pride of the kitchen. This being deposited, was followed by an entire sheep, skinned indeed, and bearing evidence of having undergone the process of the kitchen, but yet apparently possessing its intestines, as when in life. The equivoque was however speedily solved; for incision being made, a bounteous discharge of the contents protruded ready dressed, in several fanciful forms of puddings, forced meats, and minced meats, and va-

rious indescribable *et ceteras*, all evincing the Arabesque taste in the highest degree.

Though no regular system of public education is established here, yet there are a great many schools about the city of Tripoli, where the poorest people have their children taught to read and write, by a mode which is said to be extremely ingenious, and well calculated for rapid improvement; they are, however, taken away from their studies at fourteen, when it is supposed they are able to contribute to their own support.

Notwithstanding the precepts of Mahomet, with regard to temperance, the people of Tripoli, who have it in their power, indulge very frequently in the use of strong liquors, particularly rum and brandy; this, however, is always done by stealth, while their native hypocrisy enables them to assume an appearance of moderation. In other respects, the sensual appetites are better regulated here than at many places on the coast of Barbary; for a native is seldom known to have more than one wife, out of the four allowed him by his religion; and the indulgence of a scandalous propensity, so degrading to the Tunisians, is scarcely known here; besides, the bashaw of Tripoli punishes that dreadful crime in a most exemplary manner.

The shocking life prescribed to the women of this country, renders it impossible for any European observer to form a distinct idea of their disposition and character. "I have," Mr. Blacquiere observes, "made very diligent inquiries as to their general method of treatment from their relentless masters; and also understand, that in point of personal beauty they are by no means deficient, although that is much checked by their sedentary mode of life. Their education consists in acquiring a perfect knowledge of house-keeping; especially that of making all their own clothes, and preparing a *cooscoso*, the favourite

dish of the Mahometans, and various sweetmeats, in the composition of which, the women throughout Barbary are known to excel. Corpulency is here considered as the great criterion of beauty; and the custom of fattening up young ladies for marriage, at Tunis, is singular. A girl, after she is betrothed, is cooped up in a small room, shackles of gold and silver are placed upon her ankles and wrists, as a piece of dress. If she is to be married to a man who has discharged, despatched, or lost a former wife, the shackles which the former wife wore, are put upon the new bride's limbs, and she is fed until they are filled up to their proper thickness. The food for this custom, worthy of Barbarians, is a seed called *drough*, which is of an extraordinary fattening quality, and also famous for rendering the milk of nurses rich and abundant. With this seed and the national dish *cooscosoo*, the bride is literally crammed, and many die under the spoon."

The same idea of corpulency being a female beauty, is prevalent in Morocco, where Lempriere tells us, the women use a grain, which they call *el houbas*; this they eat with their common food. They also swallow boluses of paste heated by the steam of boiling water; and another author states, that it was a common practice in Africa, for young ladies to cram themselves with rolls of bread soaked in warm water.

There is little doubt, but that these unfortunate beings, after marriage, are feelingly alive to the miseries of their present forlorn situation; and would most joyfully hail any change which might raise them to their proper rank in society. In the streets, when permitted to go out, they have been observed to gaze with admiration on Christians, and often heard to exclaim in warm terms of approbation of our dress and general appearance. Some people have asserted, that the force of habit, and long esta-

blished custom, have extinguished those feelings of jealousy which would otherwise render rival brides so wretched. This is by no means the case, the women of this country are continually torn by the same paroxysms of disappointed love, as distract persons in the most refined countries of Europe.

Besides stabbing, before noticed, the citizens of Tripoli satisfy their private revenge against each other, by administering poison in a cup of coffee: the latter has lately become so common, that when any person goes off suddenly, people say, "He has taken his coffee." The poisoned coffee is sometimes given with the view of effecting instant death; and at other times, in order to prolong the victim's miseries for several months.

The treatment of the Jews here, has several peculiarities. Whatever agreement is made with a Jew in the Barbary states, the particulars must be registered by a clerk, or a *cancelier*, in one of the European Consular-Offices, samples of the goods deposited, and the parties bound in a penalty to perform the contract; otherwise, the Moor is not bound to abide by his agreement, however solemnly he may have pledged himself. In most places, the agreement, though only verbal, is considered valid, provided it is made in the presence of a broker. Still it is observed of the Jews, who are numerous in Tripoli, "no insult, indignity, or oppression, prevents them from domiciliating themselves wherever they happen to fix their abode. The Jew is a plant that seems to be suited for every soil; and generally thrives best where the pruning knife is most applied." Among the Moors, he is made to suffer beyond what any nature but that of a Jew could bear; yet such is the ignorance of the ruling powers, and their Moorish subjects, that the affairs of state could hardly be carried on without him. A Moor may enter a Jew's house, disturb the family at unseasonable hours, and

insult the women ; yet the Israelite ' dares not to insinuate to him the slightest hint, that his walking out as soon as it suited his convenience, would be acceptable.' In passing a mosque, a Jew must pull off his slippers and walk barefooted ; the task of burying executed criminals devolves on the Jews ; the wild beasts in the menagerie are fed and cleaned by them. It is frequently necessary, in some of the western parts of Morocco, to carry Europeans, wishing to land, through the surf of the Atlantic : it would be degradation in a Moor to carry a Christian, and he is therefore hoisted on the shoulders of an Israelite. He can neither shift his place of residence without special permission, nor ride a horse, nor wear a sword. The very few of these people who become converts to the Mahometan faith, meet with little encouragement on that account, and no respect.

Though the Jew must appear in black clothing in the streets, yet in his own quarter, he dresses in splendid, but oddly assorted finery. Their friendly meetings are generally held on the house-top ; where, on the sabbaths and holidays, the men appear in velvet, and are laced like Spanish admirals, with a greasy night-cap on the head, just barely shewing that it had once been white, surmounted by a great three-cocked hat, with a broad gold lace. The ladies, too, are loaded with jewels, and, in this part of Africa, they are said to preserve the two characteristics of female beauty—an expressive set of features, and fine dark eyes, neither of which are improved by an unsparing use of paint. Their dress consists of a fine linen shirt, with loose sleeves, hanging almost to the ground ; over this a caftan of cloth or velvet, reaching to the hips, and open in front, to expose the neck and bosom, the edges generally embroidered with gold. Above this is a petticoat, generally of green cloth, also embroidered, and a broad sash of silk and gold, round the waist, with the ends hanging down be-

hind : a silk sash binds the hair, with the ends flowing loose ; and red slippers embroidered with gold, complete the costume. The young Jewess is not permitted to go out without her face being muffled up in the Moorish manner ; but the matrons may appear in public unveiled, though the elderly ladies are exceedingly strict with regard to the conduct of the young ones.

Next to the Jews, the Arabs in this part of Africa, form a striking character.

The Arab women are relieved from the drudgery of tilling the land, but they grind the corn in the primitive mill, consisting of a moveable stone with a handle turned round on a fixed one, and weave the coarse web with the simplest of all looms, *viz.* two or three pieces of stick. They also prepare the *coosco-soo*, or granulated paste, in which is smothered any kind of animal food, a dish universally in use from Arabia to the shores of the Atlantic, and not unlike the pilaw of India, when the granulated flour of wheat is substituted for rice. The women also milk the cattle, look after the poultry, and are generally employed in all the domestic concerns which fall to the lot of the weaker sex in the civilized countries of Europe. The whole family sleep in the same tent, generally on sheep-skins. Each parent furnishes his child on marriage with a tent, a stone hand-mill, a basket, a wooden bowl, two earthen dishes, and as many camels, cows, sheep, and goats, as circumstances will allow.

The Arabs, strictly speaking, compose the most numerous class of the population of Northern Africa. They are scattered over every part of it, and are found even in the Great Desert as far as the confines of Soudan. The inhabitants of the plains are a fine race of men, tall and muscular, with good features and intelligent countenances ; the eye large, black, and piercing, the nose somewhat arched, the teeth

regular and white as ivory, the beard full and bushy, and the hair strong, straight, and universally black; the colour of the skin in the northern parts, a bright clear brunette, darkening gradually into perfect blackness, but still without the negro features. Near Soudan, the Arabs are the cultivators of the earth and breeders of cattle. They live invariably in tents made of a coarse stuff, of goat's or camel's hair, or the fibrous roots of the palm-tree; and their families vary from twelve to a hundred. They all belong to their respective tribes, each having its own scheik or chief, who explains the Koran, administers justice, and settles disputes, in the same manner as the patriarchs of old, and as is still the case in the plains of Asia, from whence they originally came. At each encampment is a tent set apart for religious worship, and the reception of strangers. An Arab family moves from place to place as the land becomes exhausted, and the pasturage fails; or as they increase, and their flocks and herds become too numerous, they separate, like Abraham and Lot, one proceeding to the right hand, and the other to the left. Keatinge tells us, "When they march, the women set in a group, perhaps of three on the back of the camel; the younger animals, such as children, lambs, kids, and so forth, are allotted their places in the panniers on each side. Thus guarded by a few men on horseback, with their muskets rested across their pummels, and the rest driving their herds, they are met in their migrations.

Impatient of restraint, and fondly attached to independence, few Arabs are found in any of the towns; but they bring various articles to market, pitching their tents on the nearest spot where grass and water are to be met with. They are almost always at war, either with one another, or with the Berebbers; or, like these people, they oppose the troops of their respective Moorish sovereigns when they are sent to

collect their tribute. War may be said to be the Arab's trade, and plundering his revenue: for when they have no quarrels among themselves or their neighbours, they usually seek for engagements with the deys or bashaws, as auxiliary troops. However, one common sentiment of hatred to Christians seems to pervade the whole community. The Arab, though more violent than the Moor or the Berebber, is less treacherous, and seldom conceals his animosity.

The hospitality of the Arabs has been frequently mentioned by different travellers; and it is illustrated by the following trait. "A chief of a party of the Bey of Tripoli's troops, pursued by some Arabs, lost his way, and was benighted near the enemy's camp. Passing the door of a tent that was open, he stopped his horse and implored assistance, being almost overcome and exhausted with fatigue and thirst. The warlike Arab bid his enemy enter his tent with confidence, and treated him with all the hospitality and respect for which these people are so famous. The highest amongst them, like the heroes of old, wait upon their guest. A man of rank, when visited by a stranger, quickly fetches a lamb from his flock and kills it, and his wife superintends her women in dressing it in the best manner. With some of the Arabs, the primitive custom of washing the feet is yet adopted, and this compliment is performed by the head of the family. Their supper was the best of the fattest lamb roasted; their dessert, dates and dried fruit; and the lady of the tent, to honour more particularly her husband's guest, set before him a dish of *bossees* of her own making. This is flour and water kneaded into a paste, and left on a cloth to rise while the fire was lighted; then throwing it on the embers and turning it often, it is taken off half-baked, broke into pieces, and kneaded again with new milk, oil and salt, made into the shape of a pudding, and garnished with *madeed*, or small bits of mutton dried and

salted in the highest manner. Though these two chiefs were opposed in war, they talked with candour and friendship to each other, recounting the achievements of themselves and their ancestors, when a sudden paleness overspread the countenance of the host. He started from his seat and retired, and in a few moments afterwards sent word to his guest, that his bed was prepared, and all things ready for his repose; that he was not well himself, and therefore could not attend to finish his repast; that he had examined the Moor's horse, and found it too much exhausted to bear him through a hard journey the next day; but before sun-rise, an able horse with every accommodation would be ready at the door of the tent, where he would meet him, and expect him to depart with all expedition. The stranger, not able to account farther for the conduct of his host, retired to rest.

"An Arab waked him in time to take refreshment prepared before his departure; but he saw none of the family, till on reaching the door of the tent he perceived the master of it holding the bridle of his horse, and supporting his stirrups for him to mount, which among the Arabs is the last office of friendship. No sooner was the stranger mounted than his host announced to him, that through the whole of the enemy's camp, he had not so great an enemy to dread as himself. 'Last night,' said he, 'in the exploits of your ancestors, you discovered to me the murderer of my father. There lie all the habits he was slain in,' which were at that moment brought to the door of the tent, 'over which, in the presence of my family, I have many times sworn to revenge his death, and to seek the blood of his murderer from sun-rise to sun-set. The sun has not yet risen; the sun will be no more than risen when I pursue you, after you have in safety quitted my tent, where, fortunately for you, it is against our religion to molest

you, after your having sought my protection, and found a refuge there; but all my obligations cease as soon as we part, or at whatever distance we may meet again. You have not mounted a horse inferior to the one that stands ready for myself; on its swiftness surpassing that of mine, depends one of our lives, if not both." After saying this, he shook his adversary by the hand, and parted from him. The Moor, profiting by the few moments he had in advance, reached the Bey's army in time to escape his pursuer, who followed him closely, and as near the enemy's camp as he could with safety." Thus it appears, that though the hospitality of an Arab is proverbial, it extends itself no farther than the little circumference of the plain, of which his encampment is the centre; beyond this he feels no compunction in plundering or murdering the guest whom he had fed, lodged, and protected the preceding night.

Having described the manners of the Arabs, Jews, and others, in this quarter, it is necessary to observe, that the predominant character of the Moors is that of the Arab or Saracen. "If you ask a Moor," says Mr. Dupuis, "what he calls himself, he will answer that he is a *Mooslim*, or believer.—His country? *Bled Mooslimin*, the land of believers." The Arabs distinguish them by the name of *Medainien*, or town's-people. Europeans, however, are in the habit of applying indiscriminately the term *Moor*, not only to the mass of population in Northern Africa, but throughout all Asia to the confines of China; it is, in fact, almost synonymous with Mussulman. The Moors of Africa are rigid disciples of Mahomet; they pray five times a day with the face turned towards Mecca; perform their ablutions; circumcise their male children; believe that every man's destiny is pre-ordained, and written in the book of fate; hate and despise Christians and Jews; shut up their women; and eat cooscosoo. If they are generally found

to be an indolent and inactive race, spending whole days in sitting cross-legged with their backs against a wall, looking with invincible taciturnity at the passers in the streets; (*See Plate*;) if they are jealous, deceitful, and cruel, distrustful of their neighbours, and strangers to every social tie; if their hearts are so callous as to be incapable of one tender sentiment of love or friendship; if it be true, as Jackson says, that "the father fears the son—the son the father," and that "this lamentable want of confidence diffuses itself throughout the whole community,"—it must be ascribed to moral and political causes; to the influence of a vile government, an absurd religion, and that gross ignorance which deems the possession of a printed book a crime.

The Moor never laughs, and seldom smiles; his grave and pensive appearance wears the external character of a thinking animal, but it is the mere result of habit; there is no heart, no mind, no curiosity, no ambition of knowledge; he exists in a state of perpetual languor, which seems only excited into enjoyment, when in total vacuity of mind, he is seen to stroke his beard. We say nothing at present of his harem; his domestic amusements can only be known to himself; but of his pleasures in public, next to the abstraction from all ideas, that of the bath seems to preponderate: few of any rank or opulence are without this luxury; but every large town has its public baths, which are generally annexed to some caravansera, or coffee-house; here the Moor gets himself well rubbed down, and his joints stretched or shampooed; here he sips his coffee, and here he is amused with wild tales of genii or fairies.

The refinement of eating and drinking constitutes no part of the Moor's happiness; they have plenty of good and wholesome food; but cooscoscoo is the standing dish; the manner of eating it is thus described:—"The Mussulman with his left hand tears the meat to pieces; gropes into and rolls up the grin,



Bey of Tripoli

p. 406



-d Moor

p. 404

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1

combs the offal from his mouth with his fingers through his long beard, and, with a notable regard to economy, throws it back into the dish, for a plastic hand to mould anew into modification for swallowing."

Among their superstitions may be reckoned their abhorrence of black: their mode of expressing the number *five* by four and one; their abstaining from mentioning the word *death*, which they avoid as cautiously as the courtly divine did the mention of hell "to ears polite." Spirits being supposed to walk abroad at night, he must be a Moor of no ordinary cast of mind who, unfurnished with the sacred periapt, would venture abroad in the dark: if a person should die suddenly, he is struck by some local demon. Thirteen in company is an unlucky omen; but this superstition, like some of the others, is not confined to the Moors.

The present sultan of Morocco, Muley Solymán, is a direct descendant, in the Sheriffe line, of the Arab conquerors of the country. He is a peaceable man, and, if we may believe a Doctor Buffa, who resided some time at his court, 'his chief study and attention appear to be directed to the welfare and happiness of his people.' Two things are certainly much in his favour—he has abolished Christian slavery, and he employs no Turks to oppress the people; nor does he recruit the army of blacks, amounting once to 40,000 men, which Muley Ismael imported from the southward of the Sahara, under the notion that they would execute his orders without compunction, and by thus rendering themselves odious to his subjects, be less likely to conspire with them against him. Negroes, however, are still to be found as governors of cities, commanders of the body guard, eunuchs to the harem, and filling other officers of the state.

Muley Yezid, the brother and predecessor of the present emperor, was altogether a different character, being destitute of every spark of human feeling. He plundered all the Jews in his dominions, and mas-

sacred those who did not at once produce their riches; and he is said to have burnt alive six young Jewesses who ventured to plead for their fathers' lives. His first act, on coming to the throne, was to put to death the chief minister, and to cause his head and his hands to be nailed to the door of the Spanish consul's house, because his father was supposed to have favoured that nation. During his father's life he headed a negro army, and got himself proclaimed king at Mequinez: the rebellion was soon put down, and as an expiation of his crime, he was sent on a pilgrimage to Mecca, with a numerous escort, and a large sum of money as a present to the holy shrine. Of this money he contrived to rob the escort; and as a further punishment, and to keep him out of Morocco, the emperor ordered him to perform three successive pilgrimages before he ventured to shew himself in his dominions.

At Tripoli, besides the daughter of an Arab chief whom he had stolen, he had with him seven wives—five Greeks, and two black women. One of them bore him a son there, on which occasion he gave a grand entertainment. His father's treasurer, having made some difficulty about advancing the money for the feast, was made to swallow a quantity of sand, in consequence of which he died a few days afterwards. His general behaviour was so brutal, that none of the European consuls would venture near him. When at Tunis, a Spanish renegado, who from the condition of a slave had been elevated to the rank of a mameluke, and set over his harem, was discovered to have seduced the affections of one of his favourite ladies.

He took no notice at Tunis of the discovery he had made of the infidelity of the fair slave, or the treachery of the renegado, but brought the deluded culprits on with him, not altering his behaviour, while his heart was coolly meditating in what manner

to sacrifice them, that their punishment might satiate his revenge. By the time he arrived at Zuarra he had decided the fate of these unfortunate wretches. This cannibal eats not men, but feasts upon their sufferings; he put the two offenders to death, the woman first and the man afterwards, with his own hands, in a manner the most heightened description of cruelty could not exaggerate.

This ferocious monster (who, to the relief of suffering humanity, was assassinated a few months after his accession) amused some portion of his leisure, in travelling to and fro between Tripoli and Tunis. The road presented scenery congenial to his savage nature.

The Dey of Algiers is a Turk, sometimes appointed by the Grand Seignior, but usually chosen out of the Divan.

The Bey of Tunis is of Turkish descent, but a native African, and both the court and the people of this state are more civilized than those of Algiers. The bashaw of Tripoli is a native Moor, a timid man, desirous of living in peace with all the world.

Of the reigning family of Tripoli, the character of the bashaw, his eldest son the Bey, and his two brothers, their wives and harems, their domestic intrigues, quarrels, and economy, we learn the following very curious and interesting details:

Alli Caromalli, or Caromanli, the reigning bashaw in 1784, was the grandson of Hamet, who after treacherously causing the assassination of the Turkish soldiery, whom he looked upon as his gaolers, succeeded in procuring a *firman* from the Grand Seignior, which settled the succession of the pachalic in the Moorish line. He had three sons from one wife, the eldest of which, Sidi Hassen, who has the title of bey, and is considered as the legitimate successor of the throne, was about thirty years of age; the second was named Sidi Hamet; and the youngest, about twenty, Sidi Useph, the last of whom at present fills

the throne of Tripoli; the two younger brothers, and particularly the latter, conceived an inveterate hatred against the Bey, and, as usual in all the Mahomedan governments, conspired to deprive him of the succession. On the feast of Beiram, which immediately follows the fast of Ramadan, every good Mussulman endeavours to settle all quarrels which may have disturbed the peace of his family in the foregoing year. On the first day of this feast also, it is usual for the subjects of a certain rank to do homage to the sovereign.

On such occasions, two of the people, in whom the bashaw has the greatest confidence, stand on each side of him: their office is to lay hold of the arm of every stranger that presents himself to kiss the bashaw's hand, for fear of any hidden treachery, and only people of consequence and trust are permitted to enter his presence armed. The drawing-room, in honour of the day, was uncommonly crowded; when all the courtiers were, in a moment, struck with a sight that seemed to congeal their blood: they appeared to expect nothing less than the slaughter of their sovereign at the foot of his throne, and themselves to be sacrificed to the vengeance of their enemies. The three princes entered, with their chief officers, guards and blacks, armed in an extraordinary manner, with their sabres drawn. Each of the sons, surrounded by his own officers and guards, went separately up to kiss the bashaw's hand. He received them with trembling, and his extreme surprise and agitation were visible to every eye, and the doubtful issue of the moment appeared terrible to all present. The princes formed three divisions, keeping distinctly apart; they conversed with the consuls, and different people of the court, as freely as usual, but did not suffer a glance to escape each other. They stayed but a short time in the drawing-room, each party retiring in the same order they had entered; and it became apparent that their rage was levelled against each other, and not

against their father, though the bashaw seemed only to recover breath on their departure.

The Bey is stated to have used every means to conciliate his brothers, but in vain; he is described, indeed, as a man of very engaging manners, of a calm and tranquil disposition, which had assumed a cast of melancholy, from having lost all his sons in the dreadful plague that desolated the Barbary states in the year 1785.

In heading the army against some refractory Arab chiefs, his appearance at his departure is thus described: In about two hours after his attendants had waited for him, the Bey came out of the castle, habited in a loose dress of blue and gold tissue, over a pale yellow caftan, embroidered with gold and silver. His belt was studded with jewels, and his turban was crossed over with gold drapery, having long ends pendent from it. He had a very large jewel claw in his turban, which had been newly set, and looked extremely beautiful, with a new gold crescent, considerably larger than that he usually wears. (*See Plate.*)

We never saw the Bey received better by the Moors. Their acclamations were loud and incessant for some time; and the Bey, whose figure is always interesting, looked particularly handsome and majestic. He mounted a most splendid black horse. The animal seemed to vie with its master in the richness of its appearance; it was adorned with no less than four magnificent velvet housings. The broad black chest of the horse displayed to advantage eight solid gold-drop necklaces which reached to his legs; the saddle was chased gold, the front of it set with jewels; the stirrups were very large, and appeared like burnished gold. His whole appearance was uncommonly brilliant.

Though the two brothers conspired against the Bey, there was no common sentiment but that of jealousy as to his successor; and they were perpetually wrang-

ling with each other; their quarrels, however, as generally happens among these lawless African princes, originated chiefly with their dependents. Savage as these fraternal broils must be deemed, they are sometimes not altogether divested of a noble sentiment. On a rencontre of the two brothers, at the head of their armed followers, Sidi Hamet the elder, approaching his brother Sidi Useph, thus addressed him:—

“Sidi Useph, what shall we get by cutting our servants to pieces *here*, who are all friends, *wield-el-bled* (sons of the town;) we may fill the castle with blood, and frighten the women, but *here* we shall escape each other's arms; if we fall, it may be by some of our own people, and our private quarrel will remain unrevenged. Call for your horse, mine is ready, and let us instantly go out in the pianura, (or plain,) and there settle this dispute between us.” At this moment the wife and the mother of Sidi Hamet rushed forward, screaming in despair, and, followed by their slaves, awakened the bashaw by the *woulliah-woo* which ran through the castle. The bashaw ordered them to disarm, and to embrace each other. Sidi Hamet and Sidi Useph approached the bashaw; they each kissed his hand, and laid it on their heads, then kissed his head, and the hem of his garment, and wished him, in the Moorish manner, a long life. They were retiring, and did not offer to salute each other; the bashaw seized both their hands in his, and said, “By the prophet, by my head, by your hands, and by this hand that holds them, there is peace between you.”

The two brothers had not long before this taken the most sacred oaths of friendship and fidelity to each other at the shrine of their temple; and they had very recently gone together to renew these oaths in a still stronger manner, by performing the last ceremony resorted to in this country, the *mixing of*

blood. "To accomplish this barbarous idea, they approached together the altar of Mahomet, and after swearing by the Koran, each to hold the other's life sacred, they wounded themselves with their knives, and mixing their blood in a vessel, shocking to relate, they sipped of it."

But oaths had no effect in binding the youngest brother, Sidi Useph. He was as faithless to the second as to the Bey, whose assassination, and the treacherous manner in which it was accomplished, form so striking a picture of these barbarians, that we shall extract the relation of this horrid transaction at full length. It is necessary to premise, that this accomplished hypocrite, Sidi Useph, had made to their mother (Lilla Halluma) the proposal for a reconciliation, entreating that it might take place in her own apartment, and in her presence.

"When the Bey came to his mother's apartment, Lilla Halluma, perceiving his sabre, begged of him to take it off before they began to converse, as she assured him his brother had no arms about him. The Bey, to whom there did not appear the smallest reason for suspicion, willingly delivered his sabre to his mother, who laid it on a window near which they stood, and feeling herself convinced of the integrity of the Bey's intentions, and being completely deceived in those of Sidi Useph, she with pleasure led the two princes to the sofa, and, seating herself between them, held one of each of their hands in hers; and, as she has since said, looking at them alternately, she prided herself on having thus at last brought them together as friends.

"The Bey, as soon as they were seated, endeavoured to convince his brother, that though he came prepared to go through the ceremony of making peace with him, yet there was not the least occasion for it on his part, for that he had no animosity towards him; but, on the contrary, as he had no sons

of his own living, he considered Sidi Hamet and himself as such, and would continue to treat them as a father whenever he came to the throne. Sidi Useph declared himself satisfied, but said, to make Lilla Halluma easy, there could be no objection, after such professions from the Bey, to their both attesting their friendship on the Koran: the Bey answered, "With all my heart, I am ready." Sidi Useph rose quickly from his seat, and called loudly for the Koran, which was the signal he had given his infernal blacks to bring his pistols, two of which were immediately put into his hand, and he instantly fired at the Bey, as he sat by Lilla Halluma's side on the sofa. Lilla Halluma raising her hand to save her son, had it most terribly mangled by the splinters of the pistol, which burst, and shot the Bey in his side. The bey rose, and seizing his sabre from the window, where Lilla Halluma had laid it, he made a stroke at his brother, but Sidi Useph instantly discharged a second pistol, and shot the Bey through the heart. To add to the unmerited affliction of Lilla Halluma, the murdered prince, in his last moments, erroneously conceiving she had betrayed him, exclaimed, "Ah, madam, is this the last present you have reserved for your eldest son?" What horror must such words from her favourite son have produced in the breast of Lilla Halluma in her present cruel situation! Sidi Useph, on seeing his brother fall, called to his blacks, saying, "There is the Bey, finish him." They dragged him from the spot where he lay yet breathing, and discharged all their pieces into him. The Bey's wife, Lilla Aisher, hearing the sudden clash of arms, broke from her women, who endeavoured to restrain her, and springing into the room clasped the bleeding body of her husband in her arms, while Lilla Halluma, endeavouring to prevent Sidi Useph from disfiguring the body, had thrown herself over it, and fainted from the agony of her

wounded hand. Five of Sidi Useph's blacks were, at the same moment, stabbing the body of the Bey as it lay on the floor; after which miserable triumph they fled with their master.

Their wanton barbarity, in thus mangling the Bey's remains, having produced the most dreadful spectacle, Lilla Aisher, (the Bey's wife,) at this sight of horror, stripped off all her jewels and rich habits, and threw them in the Bey's blood, and taking from off one of her blacks the worst baracan amongst them, made that serve for her whole covering. Thus habiting herself as a common slave, she ordered those around to cover her with ashes, and in that state she went directly to the bashaw, and told him, if he did not wish to see her poison herself and his grandchildren, to give immediate orders that she might quit the castle; for she "would not live to look on the walls of it, nor to walk over the stones that could no longer be seen for the Bey's blood, with which they were now covered."

As Sidi Useph left the castle, he met the great Chiah, the venerable Bey Abdallah, (the son of the last Turkish bashaw,) who was much attached to the royal family here, and beloved by the people. This officer, seeing the dreadful state of Sidi Useph, being almost covered with his brother's blood, expressed his fears that something fatal had happened. Sidi Useph aware, from this officer's religious principles, he could not be supposed to approve of this day's deeds, he therefore stabbed him to the heart the moment they met, and the Chiah died instantly at his feet. Sidi Useph's blacks, who were following him, threw the Chiah's body into the street before the castle gates, and the *hampers* standing by carried it home to his unhappy family: it was buried at the same hour with the Bey's.

The Bey was buried at three in the afternoon. The short space of little more than four hours had

witnessed the bey in the bloom of health in the midst of his family—murdered—and in his grave.

So habituated are the people to scenes of this kind, that this atrocious murder caused little or no disturbance in Tripoli. The public criers, by order of the bashaw, proclaimed through the city, "To the Bey who is gone, God give a happy resurrection, and none of his late servants shall be molested or hurt." Notwithstanding which, the followers of the murderer were ordered, by their master, to put to death the servants of the late Bey, wherever they should find them. As to the murderer, the grave was hardly closed over the brother he had so treacherously assassinated, when he gave a grand entertainment, at which "the sounds of music, firing, and women hired to sing and dance, were louder than at the feast of a wedding." A few days after this, Sidi Hamet, the second son, was proclaimed Bey.

The wretched widow, according to the custom of the country, paid her first visit, at the proper time, to her husband's grave.

The grave of the Bey had been previously strewed with fresh flowers for the second time that day; immense bouquets, of the choicest the season could afford, were placed within the turba or mausoleum; and Arabian jasmine, threaded on shreds of the date-leaf, were hung in festoons and large tassels over the tomb; additional lights were placed round it, and a profusion of scented waters was sprinkled over the floor of the mausoleum before Lilla Aisher (the widow) entered the mosque. His eldest daughter, the beautiful Zenobia, was not spared this dreadful ceremony. She accompanied her disconsolate mother, though this princess was so ill from the shock she received at her father's death, that she was not expected to live.

Lilla Aisher's youngest daughter, not six years old, was likewise present at this scene of distress; and

when this infant saw her mother weeping over the Bey's tomb, she held her by her baracan, and screamed to her to let him out, refusing to let go her hold of her mother, or the tomb, till she saw the Bey again. The wretched Lilla Aisher, who went there in a state of the deepest dejection, was naturally so much afflicted at this scene of useless horror, heightened by the shrill screams of all her attendants, that she fainted away, and was carried back senseless to the castle in the arms of her women.

The Moors have no particular colour appropriated to a mourning dress; but the clothes are entirely deprived of their new appearance, and the deeper the mourning is meant to be, the more mean and dirty they are made; all the gold and embroidery is passed through water till the gloss is removed, and the beauty destroyed; the Scripture phrase of "sackcloth and ashes," describes almost literally the mourning habit of the Moors.

The female part of Mr. Tully's family visited Lilla Aisher, and they found her, as might be expected, melancholy.

According to the custom of the East, her dress bespoke the state of her mind; deprived of all its lustre, by methods taken to deface every article before she put it on. She wore neither ear-rings, bracelets, nor *halhals* round the ankles, or ornaments of any kind, except the string of charms round her neck. The moment she saw us she burst into tears, and one of the blacks was going to scream, (the *waulliah-woo*,) but Lilla Aisher had the presence of mind to prevent her, as such a circumstance would have thrown the whole harem into confusion.

During this visit, Lilla Halluma, the unhappy mother of the murdered Bey, entered the apartment with her mangled hand in a sling. The Moors, it seems, instead of endeavouring to lighten the heavy hand of affliction, are ingenious in finding out new

means to keep alive the recollection of misfortunes, and resort to every method they can think of to nourish grief. One of the first requests of the mother was, that the company might be taken into the very apartment where, in her presence, the Bey met his death.

‘ Dreadful as this favour appeared, they could not refuse to go, for fear of offending her. They found the sight as strange as it was terrible; against the walls, on the outside of the apartment, had been thrown jars of soot and water mixed with ashes. The apartment was locked up, and is to remain in that state, except when opened for the Bey’s friends to view it. All in it remained in exactly the same state as when Lilla Halluma received the Bey, to make peace with his brother; and what was dreadful, it bore yet all the marks of the Bey’s unhappy end. Not an article of any description had been suffered to be removed since the Bey’s dissolution. All that the apartment contained was doomed, by Lilla Halluma, as she said, to perish with the Bey, and, like him, to moulder away in darkness.’

This soiling, or defacing, whatever belonged to the deceased, is further instanced in the case of the unfortunate Bey.

‘ Among the number of his horses that had never been mounted by any person but himself, he had one particular favourite; it was remarkably handsome, and perfectly white. During the obsequies performing for the Bey’s death, when all was wretchedness, and nothing to be seen but mourning, this beautiful horse formed a painful contrast. It was the last object that appeared in the midst of this scene of horror, in the same state as when it belonged to its late master; but soon its fine appearance was altered. Those who were mourning for the Bey’s death sprinkled it with their blood, and strewed it with ashes, and it was led from the place covered with dismal tokens of its master’s fate.’

During the period of mourning, all finery is put away, and all superfluous articles of furniture. Neither curtains, looking-glasses, tapestry, nor carpets, are to be seen. The slaves wear their caps reversed, and they are stripped of all ornaments; the *henna* ceases to stain the nails of the feet and hands, bracelets, ear-rings, necklaces, and every species of jewelry, disappear; and all perfumes and scented waters, of which the Moors are particularly fond, are dispensed with. A widow of rank, when she puts on her weeds, goes to the sea-side, has her hair combed with a gold comb, and the tresses plaited with white silk instead of black; the golden bandage over her forehead set with jewels is exchanged for a white fillet, and every article of her dress soiled. At the expiration of four months and ten days she repairs again to the sea-side.

‘The same gold comb she had used before is carried with her, and four fresh eggs: the eggs she gives to the first person she meets, who is obliged to receive them, where it even the bashaw himself. With the eggs, it is imagined, she gives away all her misfortunes, consequently no person likes to receive them; but this custom is so established, that not any one thinks of refusing them. She then proceeds to the sea-side, where her hair is combed a second time, and the comb thrown into the sea by herself; and she is then, and not before, at liberty to marry again.’

The marriage of Sidi Hamet, the bashaw’s second son, and also of a daughter of his, is thus described: ‘The wedding clothes of a Moorish lady are the accumulation of her whole life.

‘Amongst the articles in the princess’s wardrobe were two hundred pairs of shoes, and one hundred pairs of rich embroidered velvet boots, baracans, trowsers, chemises, jilecks, caps, and curtains for apartments, and many other articles in the same proportion. Each set of things was packed separately in

square flat boxes of the same dimensions ; and were conveyed with great pomp and ceremony in a long procession out of one gate of the castle into another, escorted by guards, attendants, and a number of singing women, hired for the purpose of singing the festive song of *Loo-loo-loo*, which commences when the procession leaves the bride's father's house, and finishes when it enters the bridegroom's house.'

CHAP XXIV.

Mr. Burckhardt—General Remarks on Nubia—Brade—Palm Wine—Women—Looms—Music—Honesty of the Nubians—The Bedouin Arabs—The Bisharye—Journey from Assouan to Mahass—Birbe—Dhourra Cakes—Derr—Cattle of Nubia—An ancient Temple—The Kerrarish—Bosnian Descendants—Burial Places—Signs of Hospitality—Wady Dongola—Dongola Stallions—Journey from Daroua to Mahass—Provisions—Sufferings of the Caravans—Villages of Berbe—Houses—Bouza—Use of Butter—Marriage Portions—Mode of Grinding Dhourra—Character of the Berbers—The Plague unknown—Small Pox.

MR. BURCKHARDT, in his general remarks on Nubia, has entered considerably into the history of the Mamelukes, who took refuge there after their recent expulsion from Egypt. Derr is at present the chief residence of the governors of Nubia ; but they are almost continually roving about. The revenue in Nubia is estimated according to the number of sakies or water-wheels employed by the natives after the inundation of the Nile, and during the summer, for the purpose of irrigating the land. In poor villages, one water-wheel is the property of the whole community. Still the rate of taxation is different in different places. At Wady Halfa, each village pays six fat sheep an-

nually, and six Egyptian measures of dhourra. In Mahass, the malek, or king, takes from every wheel six sheep, twenty bushels of grain, and a linen shirt, and the whole system of taxation is extremely arbitrary. The kachefs or governors being judges, they derive a large income from that office.

If a Nubian kills another, he pays the price of blood to the family of the deceased, and a fine to the governor of six camels, a cow, and seven sheep, or they are taken from the murderer's family. Every wound has its stated fine in sheep, &c., varying according to the parts of the body upon which it is inflicted. This custom prevails at Ibrim; but a Mameluke being killed, is considered as a soldier, not an Arab, consequently, no fine is paid, excepting to the governor. And as disputes and sanguinary quarrels often take place between the inhabitants of the villages, if death ensues, the family of the deceased has the option of taking the fine, or retaliating upon the family of the slayer. The Nubians, however, are never beaten or put to death by their governors, excepting in a state of open rebellion, which is not unfrequent. If a Nubian leaves the country to avoid paying money extorted from him, his wife, or his children, are imprisoned till he returns; a practice much complained of, and not known even among the tyrannical pachas of Syria and Egypt, who respect the persons of the wives and children of their greatest enemies. If the daughter of a wealthy Nubian is asked in marriage, the father dare not refuse his superior; and though he sometimes feels flattered by the offer, he is generally soon ruined by his powerful son-in-law, who extorts from him every article of his property under the name of presents to his own daughter. All the governors are thus married in almost every considerable village.

The harvest in Nubia suffers considerably from innumerable flocks of sparrows, which all the children

in the villages are not able to drive away; and whole fields of dhourra and barley are often destroyed by a species of small worm, that rises in the stalks of the plant. Tobacco is every where cultivated, and forms the chief luxury of all classes, some of whom, mixing it with nitre, suck it, by placing it between the lower gums and the lip.

The habitations of the Nubians are built either of mud, or of loose stones; those of stone generally stand on the declivity of the hills, and consist of two separate round buildings, one for the males and the other for the females. The roofs of these low mud buildings, are generally covered with dhourra stalks, which last till they are devoured by the cattle, then palm-leaves are made to supply their place. But at Derr, and the large villages, the houses are well built, and have a large area in the centre, with apartments all round, but still separated for the men and women. Like many of the Orientals, the utensils of a Nubian's house are few in number; about half a dozen earthen jars, from one to two feet in diameter, and about five feet in height, contain the provisions of the whole family; these sometimes, with a hand-mill, a hatchet, a few earthen plates, and a few round sticks, over which the loom is laid, generally form the sum total of the furniture.

To the north of Derr, the dress is usually a linen shirt only, of a blue colour, among the wealthier classes, or the woollen cloak of the peasants of Upper Egypt. A white linen cap, and a few rags round it, resembling a turban, generally forms the head-dress. Young boys and girls go naked; and woollen gowns or linen rags constitute the dress of the women, further set off by ear-rings and glass bracelets; the poorer sort content themselves with straw. The back part of the head is also ornamented with tassels of glass or stones, whilst the hair falls in ringlets upon the neck. Copper or silver rings, ornament the ankles of the

rich. South of Derr, at Sukkott, and Mahass, grown up people dispense with any kind of clothing, with a few exceptions. The hair of the people of Mahass is very thick, but not woolly, and one ear-ring, either of silver or copper, is worn by all the young men, in the right ear only. A rosary, that hangs round the necks of men of all classes, is never removed. Above the elbow of one arm they tie a number of amulets or charms, covered with leather, about three or four inches broad. These generally consist of mystical writings or prayers. As the Nubians seldom go unarmed, as soon as a boy grows up, his first object is to purchase a short crooked knife, which is worn tied over the left elbow, under the shirt. Travelling from one village to another, the Nubians have also a long heavy stick, shod at one end with iron; or they take their lances and targets; the latter are of various sizes, but the lance is about five feet long. Some of the targets are round, with a boss in the centre, others resemble the ancient Macedonian shield, being four feet in length, of an oblong shape, with curved edges. The Sheyga Arabs sell targets made of the skin of the hippotamus; these are capable of resisting the thrust of a lance, or the blow of a sabre. Some who can afford it wear swords, having a long straight blade, about two inches broad, with the handle in the form of a cross; the scabbards of these are broader near the point, than at the top; and both are of German manufacture. Fire-arms are scarce: the most opulent only possess match-locks; and ammunition is scarce and very dear. A few cartridges from travellers, it is suggested, would be very acceptable presents.

Dhourra bread is extremely coarse, and is made without salt; it is baked on the thin iron plate, so much in use among the Bedouin Arabs. The whole operation of grinding, kneading, and baking, does not exceed more than ten minutes. Enough for the day is ground every morning by the women, as the

Nubians never keep meal by them. The bread being made in thin round cakes, these are placed upon each other at meal-times. Even the governors among the Nubians, seldom taste animal food. Palm-wine, common in the larger villages, though not unpleasant, is too sweet and thick to be drank in any large quantity. It will never keep longer than a year, or beyond the date harvest. Another liquor, made by the Nubians, called Bouza, resembles beer; this is extracted from Dhourra, or from barley; it is very nutritious, and of a pale muddy colour. This is sold in all the towns and larger villages in Upper Egypt, and at Cairo, but always by Nubians.

At Derr, there are shops for selling the wine and spirit distilled from dates. Here the upper classes get intoxicated almost every evening. The date also yields a kind of jelly or honey, which the rich use as a sweetmeat. Except date-trees, and a few grape-vines at Derr, Mr. Buckhardt saw no fruit-trees in Nubia. The heat, especially in the narrow rocky parts, is most intense; but owing, perhaps, to the extreme aridity of the atmosphere, the climate is very healthy. Nor does the plague even prevail in Nubia so high as the cataract; and it is unknown to Dongola, and along the whole route to Sennaar.

The men in Nubia are generally strong and muscular, with fine features; in stature they are rather shorter than the Egyptians; they have no mustachios and but little beard, which they wear only beneath the chin.

The women are all well made, and though not handsome, have very agreeable countenances, and pleasing manners. Even beauties are to be seen among them; though they are said to be mostly worn down by continual labour; though it does not appear that any thing more than the business of the house is left to them, as the culture of the soil is performed exclusively by the men. The women of Nubia are

praised by Mr. Buckhardt, as the most virtuous of the East, notwithstanding their vicinity to Upper Egypt, where licentiousness is unbounded. The Nubians purchase their wives of the parents. They often marry with the Arabs Ababde; an Ababde girl is worth six camels: these her father receives, but gives back three, to be the common property of her and her husband. If a divorce takes place, half the value of the camels goes to the latter. When a wife in Upper Egypt insists upon a divorce, her husband has a right to take all her wearing apparel and to shave her head, and nobody will then marry her till she recovers her hair. A Nubian is so extremely jealous, that upon the least cause or suspicion, he would carry a woman to the side of the river, in the night, lay open her breast with a cut of his knife, and throw her in, as they say, to become food for the crocodiles.

With the small looms which are frequently seen in the houses, the women weave very coarse woollen mantle and cotton cloth; this they convert into shirts. Mats, large plates, and small drinking bowls, are also formed of the date-tree, together with large plates, on which the bread is served at table. These articles, though all formed by the hand, are made in so very neat a manner, that they appear to have been manufactured in the European way. Every utensil, except those just mentioned, are imported into Nubia from Egypt. The only musical instrument Mr. Buckhardt saw in Nubia was a kind of tamboura, with five strings, and covered with the skin of a gazelle: the country airs are very melodious, and the girls are fond of singing. The game of chess is common at Derr, and another called beyadh, is frequently played, particularly by the Arabs of Kerek.

The Nubians are generally of a kind disposition, and by no means so addicted to theft as the people in Upper Egypt, especially those to the north of Siout.

Even pilfering is held in such detestation, that a person detected in it, would be expelled from his village by the general voice of its inhabitants. Mr. Buckhardt never lost the most trifling article during his journey through Nubia, though he always slept in the open air, in the front of the house where he took up his quarters for the night. Curiosity, he thinks, forms the prominent feature in the character of the Nubians, for, though generally hospitable, they ask their guest a thousand questions about the place he comes from, and the object of his visit to that quarter.

The Nubians are of a much more bold and independent spirit than the Egyptians, and ardently attached to their country: and though great numbers of them go every year to Cairo, where they act as porters, and are preferred on account of their honesty; after staying six or eight years they return to their native wady or valley, with the little property they have collected, though they well know the only luxuries they can expect there, in exchange for those of Cairo, are Dhourra bread, and a linen shirt. Those Nubians, who remain in their own country seldom go beyond the precincts of their own villages, and for this they have no stimulus, having no inclination for commercial speculations. At Ibrim, Mr. Buckhardt saw two old men, who assured him they had never visited Derr, though it is only five hours' journey distant.

Those who reside in Egypt, and speak Arabic, are mostly good believers, and say their prayers daily; but the generality of them know nothing of any prayer but the exclamation of *Alahu Akbar*; and only a few of them make the pilgrimage to Mecca, by way of Suakin. The whole population of Nubia, from Assouan to the southern limits of Mahass, is estimated at one hundred thousand souls.

The Bedouin Arabs, who inhabit the mountains lying between Nubia and the Red Sea, are a most

singular and savage race; they are of two tribes, the Ababde and Bisharye. The former occupy the country south of Kossier, nearly as far as the latitude of Derr. The Bisharge occupy the mountains southward as far as Suakin, where they obtain pasture for their camels and cattle, in the wild herbage that grows in the beds of the winter torrents. Many of the Ababde have settled in Upper Egypt, on the east bank of the Nile from Kenne to Assouan; but most of them still live like Bedouins. They used to perform the office of guides to the Sennaar caravans; but their enemies of Maazyu have supplanted them, and now farm the whole employment from the pasha of Egypt. The Ababde, however, though they possess considerable property, have an infamous character, being described by all who deal with them as a faithless people, who betray their friends, and disgrace the descent of which they boast. No oath binds an Ababde, unless this expression is attached to it, "By the hope I entertain of remaining in good health." They then dread breaking their word. Their camels and dromedaries are the best breed known in Upper Egypt; they trade largely in Senna mekke, and the charcoal of acacia wood, the produce of the trees that grow abundantly in their own mountains.

As the Ababde have but few horses, when they go to war with the other Arabs, they fight upon camels; their arms are a target, a lance, and a sword. The Ashabat, one of their tribes, seldom descend from the mountains to the banks of the Nile. Others who encamp with the Bisharye, speak their language. These mountaineers are worse than the Ababde; their only cattle are camels and sheep, and they live entirely upon flesh and milk, eating much of the former raw. According to the report of several Nubians, they are fond of the hot blood of slaughtered sheep; but their greatest luxury is the raw marrow of camels. Some of these Arabs sometimes come to Derr or Assouan with

senna, sheep, and ostrich feathers; the ostrich being common in their mountains, and their Senna sheep of the best quality. For these they get linen shirts in exchange with Dhourra: the grains of which, as they look upon them to be a great dainty, they swallow, and never make it into bread. The dread of the small-pox is so great among these traders, that it prevents them from making any long stay on the Nile, and they retire to their tents. The Bisharye are such thieves, that they will rob those persons who receive them as guests. Their youth are taught to make plundering excursions as far as Dongola, and on the route to Sennaar, mounted on camels. Few of the Bisharye speak Arabic, and they fear none but the Ababde, who being acquainted with their pastures in the mountains, often surprise them in their encampments. When these tribes are at peace, the Bisharye mountains may be crossed in the company of an Ababde; but the latter is not to be trusted, unless one of his nearest relatives is left behind as a hostage. Many of the dispersed Mamelukes fell victims to the treachery of these Arabs, and were only safe when they kept together in considerable bodies. None of these Bisharye have any fire-arms; towards the frontiers of Abyssinia, they use the bow and arrow, and speak or rather understand the Abyssinian language. Still the Bisharye are represented as kind, hospitable, and honest towards each other; and their women, as handsome as those of Abyssinia, mix in company with strangers, and are said to be of depraved habits. Mr. Burckhardt, after long and fruitless inquiry after a Bisharye Arab, met with a youth that came from Esne to buy leathern thongs. By bargaining for some goods, Mr. Burckhardt prevailed on this stranger to come to his house and breakfast with him; but when he began to put some questions to him about his language, he would stay no longer, though a shirt was offered

him as a present. He supposed that Mr. Burckhardt dealt in charms and spells, that he meant to use them to the prejudice of his tribe; he therefore forced himself out of the court-yard of the house, and could not be prevailed upon to return.

Mr. Burckhardt performed a considerable journey along the banks of the Nile, from Assouan to Mahass, on the frontiers of Dongola; for this purpose, after having visited most of the celebrated ruins in the valley of the Nile, he arrived at Assouan on the 22d of February, 1813. During a week's stay at Esne, the last town of note in Upper Egypt, he bought a pair of good dromedaries, one for himself, and another for the guides he might hire, whilst passing through Nubia. Assouan, he allows, is the most romantic spot in Egypt, but little deserving the lofty praises which some travellers have bestowed upon its antiquities. He engaged for a Spanish dollar, an old Arab, who undertook to act as a guide for 140 miles. Mr. Burckhardt having left his servant and his baggage at Assouan, after purchasing some provisions, started, carrying nothing with him but his gun, sabre, and pistol, a provision bag, and a woollen mantle, to be used either as a carpet, or covering during the night. Leaving Assouan at noon, February 24, 1813, he proceeded by the tombs of the ancient Saracen town. A high brick tower dedicated to a Turkish saint, stands near it, and the Turkish sepulchres cover a space of nearly three miles in circumference. The Cufie tombstones are innumerable, and devotees visit this spot from all parts of Egypt. About one mile distant from the tombs begins the brick wall mentioned by Denon, called Hayt el Adjour, which continues along the sandy plain, between the granite rocks, as far as the neighbourhood of the island of Philae, the ruins of which Mr. Burckhardt did not go over to view. The small village opposite is called Birbe, and is the boundary of Egypt, and the different hamlets from

hence down the river, as far as Assouan, form part of the territory of Birbe, which enjoys an entire exemption from land-tax. On the south side of Birbe commences the territory of the Nubian princes, to which Philae belongs. The people in the environs of the cataract are an independent race, and boast of their security; many that inhabit the islands support themselves by fishing.

At the time of Mr. Burckhardt's visit, the Nubians of Assouan were at war with their southern neighbours, on account of a vessel being intercepted, well known to belong to Assouan. A battle had been fought opposite Philae a few days before, and a pregnant woman had been killed by a stone. In skirmishes, it seems the Nubian women join their party, and furiously attack each other with slings. This war continued a considerable time, as Mr. Burckhardt, on his return from Mahass, observed that a caravan of women arrived daily at Assouan, with provisions for their husbands.

In the district of Wady Debot, Mr. Burckhardt tasted the first country dish, which during a journey of five weeks became his constant food, namely, the thin unleavened and slightly baked cakes of Dhourra, served up with sweet or sour milk; this grain, when badly ground, is uncommonly coarse, and nothing but necessity made it acceptable. The road the whole of the way to Derr, is perfectly safe, if one of the natives accompanies the traveller; but even when passing at a full trot, the people would come out of their cottages to ask Mr. Burckhardt's guide who he was, and the object of his journey? and they were satisfied, on hearing that he was the bearer of letters from the governor to the Nubian chiefs.

On this route there are not many large villages; but wherever a few palm trees grow near a stream, there are groups of five or six houses, to enjoy the favoured spot.

On the first of March Mr. Burckhardt reached Derr, and as all travellers of respectability alight at the house of Hassen Kashef, he did the same. Hassan having retired to rest, Mr. Burckhardt did not wait upon him, but went to bed without answering the impertinent questions put to him by his people. Next morning, Hassan, having visited the Mamelukes, surprised Mr. Burckhardt in the open hall, where he was lodged, before he had risen. Being asked whether he was a merchant, or sent to Hassan by the pacha of Egypt; encouraged by the success of Messrs. Leigh and Smelt, he candidly told him that he came to make a tour of pleasure through Nubia, like the two gentlemen that had been at Derr before, presenting to him at the same time his letters of recommendation. He, however, profited little by his candour; the frank avowal of his intentions being interpreted as a mere scheme of deception. No one would believe Mr. Burckhardt was merely a curious traveller. The Kashef supposed him a Turk sent by Hassan Beg of Esne, to watch his motions. Two days were spent in negotiations. Mr. Burckhardt's offering of soap, coffee, and two red caps, worth altogether about sixty piasters, upon the condition of obtaining a guide to the second cataract, was contrasted with the 1,000 piastres given by Messrs. Legh and Smelt, only for the permission of going to Ibrim. A lucky event, however, at length led to the attainment of Mr. Burckhardt's wishes: a large caravan was on its way from Mahass to Esne, with a great deal of the Kashef's merchandise, who wished to sell it at Siout and Cairo, and as the beg of Esne had given Mr. Burckhardt one of his letters of recommendation, Hassan easily conceived he might be induced to raise a contribution on his caravan, in return for the regard shewn to his friend. Mr. Burckhardt had therefore permission to proceed, and even his request of a letter of recommendation to Sukkot was granted, and a Bedouin

guide being soon found, he left Derr on the 2d of March.

The general direction of the river from Assouan to Korosco is south ; it there takes a western course, which it continues all the way to Dongola. The eastern bank is better adapted to cultivation than the western, to which the sands of the desert are impetuously carried by the winds which prevail in the winter. The bed of the river is generally much narrower in Nubia than in Egypt, and its course is less impeded by sand-banks. Wheat and barley are here ripe in the middle of March ; and, after the reaping at the end of April, the ground is sometimes sown a third time. This, called the summer seed, comes to maturity in the month of July, and completes the season of harvest.

Besides the palm and the doum, a variety of thorny trees grow wild on the banks of the Nile. The low shrub of the senna is every where to be met with from Esne to Mahass, upon the spots that have been inundated, growing wild. Among the mounds of sand, the tamarisk grows ; this is the same tree that lines the borders of the Euphrates, in the deserts of Mesopotamia.

The cattle of Nubia consist of cows, goats, and sheep, as it is but seldom a few buffaloes are met with. Only the opulent keep asses ; and, except among the merchants of Seboua, and in Wady el Arab, few camels are seen. The mountain-goat, or bouquetan of the Alps, called in Upper Egypt, tartal, is found in the eastern mountain. This is called Beden in Arabia Petrea ; and the Bisharye speak of a wild sheep with straight horns, which inhabits their mountains. Hares are sometimes hunted by the Arabs, with greyhounds kept for the purpose. Gazelles of the common grey kind, are every where in great numbers.

The birds of Nubia are a small species of red-leg

ged partridge; wild geese of a large kind; a few storks; the eagle rakham; great numbers of crows; the bird katta in small flights; and clouds of sparrows, the terror of the Nubians. A species of lapwing is also very common, and a white water-bird, of the size of a large goose, called kork by the natives, sometimes cover the sandy islands. The bird zakzak, that is said to creep into the crocodile's mouth, and to feed upon the food thrown up from that creature's stomach, does not visit Nubia, nor did Mr. Burckhardt see any bird of the shape of the ibis.

Numerous beetles cover the sandy shore on the west of the Nile, and the Nubians call them kafers or infidels, supposing them to be venomous; they are generally black, and the largest are of the size of a half-crown piece. Some fish are occasionally caught in nets; two species most common are called dabesk and meslog.

Mr. Burckhardt thinks the neighbourhood of Derr interesting on account of a temple situated on the declivity of a rocky hill just behind the village. Its structure denotes remote antiquity, as the gods of Egypt seem to have been worshipped here long before they were lodged in the gigantic temples of Karnac and Gorne. The temple of Derr is entirely hewn out of the sand-stone rock, with its pronaos, sekos or cella, and adyton. The pronaos consists of three rows of square pillars, four in each row. The row of pillars nearest the cella, which were originally joined by the roof to the main temple, are of larger dimensions than the rest; they are nearly four feet square, and about fourteen feet high; being still entire, though of the two outer rows, fragments of the shafts alone remain. In front of each of the four pillars are the legs of a colossal figure, similar to those of the temple of Gorne at Thebes. A portion of the excavated rock having fallen down, the fragments of it represent

a battle ; the hero in his chariot is pursuing the flying foe, who is retiring to a marshy and woody country with his wounded. In a lower compartment the prisoners are seen with their hands tied behind their backs, and brought before the executioner, who is in the act of slaying one of them. On the opposite wall, another battle is represented, but in a still less perfect state. In this the prisoners are brought before the hawk-headed Osiris ; Briareus, too, is also represented in the act of being slain, and Osiris with uplifted arm, arresting the intended blow. This is the same group so often seen in the Egyptian temples ; but Briareus here had only two heads and four arms, instead of the numerous heads and arms represented in Egypt. Various figures, differently sculptured, appear on the four pillars in front, two generally taking each other by the hand. The cella of the temple consists of an apartment thirteen paces square, which has no light but from the principal gate, and another smaller. Two rows of square pillars, three in each row, extend from the gate of the cella to the adytum : these pillars being mere square blocks, shew the infancy of architecture ; as they have neither base nor capital, though they are something larger at bottom than at the top. The inside walls of the cella, and its six pillars, are covered with mystic figures in the usual style, and are of very rude workmanship. All these figures have been painted. Five on one side of the walls appear in long robes, with shaven heads carrying a boat upon their shoulders, the middle of which is also supported by a man with a lion's skin upon his shoulder. In the posterior wall is a door with a winged globe over it, which leads into the small adytum, where the seats of four figures remain, cut out of the back-wall. On both sides of this adytum are small chambers with private entrances into the cella ; and a deep excavation in one of these suggests the probability that it had been used as a

sepulchre. The distribution of the parts in the ancient temples of Nubia are observed to be much the same as the one here described.

Derr being the usual residence of the chiefs has some trade, particularly in the much esteemed dates. In summer, when the height of the water ensures a quick passage down the river, the merchants of Esne and Assouan export many ship-loads. However, the state of commercial intercourse in this country is very bad. Derr is a village consisting of about two hundred houses, standing in a grove of date trees. On the second of March, as Mr. Burckhardt left Derr with an old Arab of the Bedouin tribe called Kararesh, he takes occasion to remark, that these are a remote branch of the Ababde, and pasture their cattle on the uninhabited banks of the river, and the islands as far as Dongola, where they are said to be most numerous. They form their tents of mats made of the leaves of palm, with a partition in the middle to separate the women's apartment. Notwithstanding their poverty, they refuse to give their daughters in marriage to the Nubians, and have thus preserved their race distinct. They are for the most part in the service of the governors of Nubia, who employ them as guards and guides in making their journeys through their dominions, the mothers and daughters remaining in the solitary tent, whilst the husbands and grown-up sons are absent. These Bedouins receive occasional presents from the chiefs of Nubia, and enjoy other privileges.

At the village of Kette, less than three hours journey from Derr, the people, who all speak Arabic as well as the Nouba language, are quite black, without having any thing of the Negro features. Except a rag round the middle, the men wear no covering. The women wear a coarse shirt. Both sexes twist their hair in thin ringlets, though it is very thick, but *not woolly*. The men never comb their hair; the

women wear on the back of the head a small ornament, formed of mother-of-pearl and Venetian glass beads; but both sexes grease their heads with butter whenever they can afford it. This refreshes the skin heated by the sun, and assists in destroying of vermin. Young girls have a string of leather tassels round their waist, something like the feather ornaments worn by some of the South-sea islanders.

The castle of Ibrim is now completely in ruins, in consequence of having sustained two sieges, during which many houses in the place were levelled with the ground. The latter are constructed of loose sandstone, as is also the modern wall. The ancient wall had been formed of hewn stone cemented with great neatness, and appears to have been an erection of the lower empire. The remains of two public buildings in the town seem to have been Greek churches, built in the same style as the wall, and probably an erection of the lower empire. The Aga of Ibrim is independent of the governors of Nubia. The people of Ibrim, who are often at war with them, having plenty of fire-arms, are more than a match for their opponents. Compared with the Nubians, they are white, and still retain the complexion of their ancestors, the Bosnian soldiers, sent to garrison Ibrim by the great Sultan Selim. Most of them wear something like a turban, but they all dress in white linen gowns, and professing themselves Turks, they have a hereditary Kady. Quarrels are very frequent, and as no money is accepted for murder, revenge is generally practised. Wounds only may be compounded for, according to the part of the body they are inflicted upon.

Upon the marriage of a Turk at Ibrim, he presents his wife with a wedding-dress and a written bond for three or four hundred piastres, half of which is paid to her in case of a separation. At a wedding, a cow or calf is killed, as to eat mutton on such

an occasion would be reckoned disgraceful to the spouse.

Property is so safe in this barbarous country that the grain may be left in heaps in the field in the night without a watch ; the cattle feed on the banks of the river without any one to tend them ; and the best part of the household furniture is left all night under the palm-trees round the dwelling. Near the graves of the deceased the Nubians place an earthen vessel, which they fill with water the moment the interment takes place, and leave it there. The grave is covered with small pebbles of different colours, and two large palm-trees are stuck in the ground at either end. Whilst riding along, Mr. Burckhardt and his attendant were invited to a funeral feast, at a house where the relatives of the possessor having just heard of his demise, had slaughtered a cow, with which they were regaling the whole neighbourhood. Even at two hours' distance from the village, they met women with plates on their heads who had been receiving their portion. It is only among people of opulence that cows are killed, on the death of a near relation ; others are contented with a sheep or a goat, and the poorest of all are obliged to confine themselves to the distribution of some bread at the grave of the departed.

Where there is so little to spare, the practice of the guide in conducting Mr. Burckhardt to the house of the principal person in the villages they passed through, may be accounted for. Wherever they alighted, a mat was spread for them on the ground, just before the gate of the house, which strangers are never permitted to enter. Dhourra bread, with milk, was the usual supper, to which dates were sometimes added. Except when earnestly pressed, the landlord never eats with his guests ; but it is always a sign that the visitor is to be well treated if a *break-fast of hot milk and bread* is brought in at sun-

rise before his departure. The suppers are mostly cold.

Having arrived at Mahass, Mr. Burckhardt says he had the honour of seeing the king, a mean-looking black, attended by half a dozen naked slaves, armed with lances and shields. Between this place and Sennaar, along the Nile, there are no less than twenty kings and kingdoms, every independent chief assuming the name of Melek, or king. Though each of these has a complete command over the property of their subjects, they are restrained from putting any of them to death, because they have the power of retaliating upon the chief or his family. All the respectable inhabitants of Mahass are slave-dealers; the slaves they purchase in Dongola, Berber, and the country of the Shegya, they despatch by a caravan to Cairo twice a-year. Mahass, the nearest place in the Black Country from whence slave-traders arrive at Cairo, is distant a thousand miles. Slaves sell there at a profit of 150 per cent., and the merchandise taken in return produces from two to three hundred. The Nubians from Derr to Dongola have no commercial connexion with Darfour or Bournou; the latter place is from twenty-five to thirty days' journey distant, and there is very little water on the road. The Wady Dongola, where the Nubian language ceases to be spoken, extends southward on both sides of Argo, and of the numerous other islands formed in the river. South of Hamek, the immense plains of Dongola commence, and there being no rocks in this district, when the inundation of the river takes place, a watery surface, twelve or fifteen miles in breadth, is exhibited.

Dongola is noted for its breed of horses, great numbers of which are imported by the people of Mahass, mostly stallions, as the natives seldom ride mares. They are originally an Arabian breed, possessing all the superior beauty of the horses of that country.

with greater size and more bone. All that Mr. Burckhardt saw, had the fore legs white as high as the knee, and he heard there were very few that was without this distinctive mark. From five to ten slaves are paid for these prime stallions. The city of Dongola is equal in size to Derr.

The valley of the Nile, in the country of the Sheygya, is nowhere above three miles wide; and there are several small cataracts in different parts of the river, where the mountains on each side nearly join. The river-horse is not met with here, and there are but few crocodiles. The Acacia, or Sant, is the tree most frequently seen on the banks; but though date-trees are scarce, the country is as well inhabited as any of the parts of Egypt. The Sheygya are a very interesting people, and form the most powerful state to the north of Sennaar. They are divided into different tribes, and perpetually at war with each other. Taught to make plundering excursions, they go as far as Darfour to the west, and to Wady Halfa to the north. They all fight on horseback in coats of mail, which they purchase of some merchants. Having few fire-arms, their principal weapons are a lance, a target, and sabre; the former they throw to a great distance, with much dexterity; and when charging an enemy generally carry four or five lances in the left hand. Mounted on Dongola stallions they are as famous for their horsemanship as the Mamelukes were in Egypt. Their horses are taught to make violent springs with their hind-legs when galloping; and, like the Abyssinian horsemen, they place the great toe only in the stirrup. The Sheygya are so independent that they pay no tribute whatever to their chiefs, though they possess great wealth in corn and cattle. They have so high a character for their hospitality, that the person of their guest is held sacred.

If a traveller or a guest have a friend among them,

should he be plundered on the road, his property may be recovered even from the chief. They all speak Arabic exclusively, and many are able to read and write it; and in their schools all the sciences are taught that form the course of Mahommedan study, mathematics and astronomy excepted. Those of this tribe, who are not soldiers, indulge in the frequent use of wine and spirits made from dates; and the manners of the women are said to be depraved.

After Mr. Burckhardt's return from this journey along the banks of the Nile in the spring of 1813, he remained in Upper Egypt to await another opportunity for starting with a caravan of slave-traders towards the interior parts of Nubia in a more easterly direction. Having equipped himself at Esne for his journey; on his arrival at Daroua, he found the necessity of making some alterations; his baggage and provisions weighed about two hundred weight, but having sold his camel to a good account, the purchaser agreed to transport the baggage across the desert. Previously to this, not wishing to be much known, he had kept as little company as possible, dressed in the poorest dress of an inhabitant of Egypt, and spent as little money as he possibly could, the daily expense of himself, his servant, dromedary, and ass, not exceeding eighteen-pence English. His horse also cost him sixteen-pence a month. Yet with all this he could not but create some suspicion of his being a rich man, or one who had had the good luck to find a treasure. Afterwards, when at Daroua, he dressed in a brown loose woollen cloak, with a coarse white linen shirt and trowsers; a white woollen cap, tied round with a common handkerchief like a turban, with sandals on his feet. In his pocket he carried a small journal-book; a pencil, pocket compass, pen-knife, tobacco-purse, and a steel for striking a light. The provisions were forty pounds

of flour, twenty of biscuit, fifteen of dates, ten of lentils, six of butter, five of salt, three of rice, two of coffee-beans, four of tobacco, one of pepper, some onions, and eighty pounds of Dhourra for the ass. Besides these, he found it necessary to have a copper boiler, a copper plate, a coffee roaster, an earthen mortar to pound the coffee-beans, coffee-cups, needles, thread, &c. &c. He had also a pocket Koran, bought at Damascus; but this he lost on the day of the pilgrimage on the 10th of November 1814, among the crowds of Mount Arafat. The merchandise which Mr. Burckhardt carried with him on this journey, consisted of twenty pounds of sugar, fifteen of soap, with nutmegs, razors, and several dozens of wooden beads, an excellent substitute for coin in these countries. He was armed with a gun, a pistol, and a large stick, shod with iron at one end, to be used as a weapon, or to pound coffee. His money also was well secured. At noon on the first of March the camels were watered; but just before the loading commenced, the Ababde women appeared with earthen vessels in their hands, filled with burning coals. These they set before the several loads, and throwing salt on them, when they saw the bluish flame produced by the burning of the salt, they exclaimed, "May you be blessed in going and in coming."

The sufferings of the caravan, occasioned by thirst, in passing the deserts as far as Ankeyre, and particularly the ill-usage Mr. Burckhardt experienced from the party on account of the poverty of his appearance, form a very distressing picture. The fact was, they had made a bad calculation as to the time it would take in travelling from Daraou to Berber, and this was the principal cause of the distress for provisions and water towards the end of the journey. Mr. Burckhardt's own ass had fed upon *nothing but lentils for two days.*

At Ankeyre, as there are no public khans, each merchant repaired to the house of his friend. Our traveller was also hospitably entertained, and next morning crowds of visitors poured in. The inhabitants of Berber are Arabs of the tribe of Meyrefab. Their territory, they say, can arm a body of one thousand free Arabs, and half that number of slaves. Their chief assumes the title of Mek, an abbreviation of Melek: but over the powerful part of the tribe he exercises a very feeble authority.

Four villages, constituting Berber, are all within half an hour's walk from the river, situated in the sandy desert. Each of these villages are composed of about a dozen of quarters, separated from each other by short distances. The houses are also divided by large court-yards, and are built either of mud or sun-baked bricks. To each habitation there is a large yard, divided into an inner and outer court, and round this yard are the rooms for the family, all on the ground-floor. The roof is formed by beams laid across the walls, and these are covered with mats, upon which reeds are placed, and a layer of mud is spread over the whole. The roof has a slope to let the rain-water off, which in most houses is conducted by a canal into the court-yard, which, in rainy weather, has the appearance of a dirty pond. The family seldom occupy more than two rooms; the third serves as a store-room, a fourth for the reception of strangers, and a fifth is often occupied by the public women; but as none of these rooms have generally more than one small window, it is often necessary to have the doors open. These are of wood, and have the same wooden locks and keys, though of coarser manufacture, as those used in Syria and Egypt. The sofa or bedstead here is an oblong wooden frame, with four legs, having a seat made of reeds, or of thin stripes of ox leather drawn across each other. The honoured stranger always has one

of these brought him on his arrival, and it serves him for a sofa by day, and a bedstead by night. The peculiar smell of the leather it is said keeps it free from vermin. In the rooms where the women sleep, as well as in the others where the men take a nap, there are mats made of reeds spread in the inner parts. This nap is in fact the siesta of the west, and is a luxury never dispensed with in most hot countries. In Berber, when they sleep, they generally spread a carpet made of pieces of leather sewn together, and, according to the general custom of the Arabs, sleep without any pillow, with the head lying upon the same level as the body. In the store-room where Dhourra is kept, it is spread in heaps upon the floor, or in large receptacles formed of mud to preserve it from rats and mice. Yet there are such swarms of these animals, that, running about the court-yards, the boys amuse themselves with throwing lances at them, and destroying them every day in heaps. A few sheep-skins, filled with butter, water-skins for travellers, some jars of honey, and if people are in easy circumstances, some dried flesh, are preserved in these store-rooms. The camels, cows, and sheep, occupy the inner court, and in one compartment of this, the dry Dhourra stalks are preserved as the usual food of the cattle, when every thing is dried up by the summer heats. In most of the outer courts of the houses there is a well of brackish water fit only for cattle; here, during the hot season, the male inhabitants and strangers sleep in the night, either upon mud-benches or the ground; here too, the master's favourite horse is fed, and all business is transacted in the open air. Sometimes what are called the public women sleep in these court-yards, or in a small room adjoining. These are female slaves, whom their masters upon marrying, or being tired of them, have set at liberty. These unhappy ~~creatures~~ afterwards live by prostitution, or by pre-

paring the intoxicating liquor called *Bouza*. As any person drinking this in his own house would be immediately surrounded with visitors, to have this indulgence, they generally go to the houses of these women, where they are safe from any intrusion. Many of these females are Abyssinians by birth, and might even pass for beauties in any country. The women of Berber, even of the first class, always go unveiled. Many men and women blacken their eyelids with antimony. Most of the women, who can afford it, throw over their shirts white cloaks, with red linings of Egyptian manufacture. Both sexes are almost in the daily habit of rubbing their skins with fresh butter; this they say prevents cutaneous complaints, and smooths the skin. But the men say it renders the skin tougher and firmer, and better able to resist a knife. Mr. Burckhardt owns he found great benefit, during the mid-day heats, from rubbing his breast, arms, and legs with butter, particularly when fatigued.

The cutaneous eruption called, in Egypt, where it is common, the prickly heat, is never seen in Nubia. The skin of the Arabs here, though very dark-coloured, is as fine as that of a white person, while that of the negroes is thicker and coarser. The negroes' hands are as hard as a board, whilst the Arabs, not of the labouring class, have hands equally as soft. The perfumed grease among these people is only made upon extraordinary occasions, and is a preparation of sheep's fat mixed with soap, and with pulverized sandal wood, senbal and mahleb. It has an agreeable odour, and the men say it is a powerful stimulant. The people of Berber are very handsome; though the native colour seems to be a dark red brown, which, if the mother is a slave from Abyssinia, becomes a light brown in the children: but extremely dark if she is a negro. The men are taller than the Egyptians, and much stronger &

larger-limbed. The face is oval, and the nose often perfectly Grecian, and the cheek-bones not prominent, though the upper lip is generally somewhat thicker than what is reckoned beautiful among northern nations. The legs and feet of the Berbers are well formed, which is seldom the case with the negroes: they have a short beard below the chin, but seldom any hair upon their cheeks; and their mustachios, which are thin, they keep cut very short. Their hair is bushy and strong, but not woolly; lies in close curls when short, and when cut forms itself into broad high tufts.

Like the other Arab tribes in this part of Africa, the Meyrefabs are careful in maintaining the purity of their race. A free-born man here never marries a slave, and if he have any children by his slave concubines, they are looked upon only as fit matches for slaves or their progeny: but in the towns of Arabia and Egypt, Arabs are in the daily habit of marrying Abyssinian as well as negro slaves. According to the Turkish custom, even here, in marrying, the bride's father receives a certain sum of money from the bridegroom, for his daughter. Few men have more than one wife: but every one that can afford it, keeps a mistress, either in his own or some other house; and this description of females are called "companions." Few traders, it is said, pass through *Berber* without taking a companion, if only for a fortnight. Drunkenness is the constant attendant on this kind of debauchery. The *Bouza* drank on these occasions, is made from strongly leavened *Dhourra* bread, broken into crumbs, and mixed with water kept for several hours over a slow fire. When it is removed, water is poured over it, and it is left for two nights to ferment. This liquor, according to its strength, obtains the name of *Merin*, *Bouza*, or *Om Belbel*, the mother of nightingales, because it makes the drunkard sing. The *Om Belbel* is drained

through a cloth, and is consequently a pure liquid; but the other two sorts, fermented with the crumbs of bread, are never free from them. The best sort has a pleasant exciting taste, resembling sour champagne. All these drinks are served up in large roundish gourds open at the top, having a number of ornaments upon them, cut with a knife. A bourma, or gourd, contains about four pints, and whenever a party meet, it is expected that each person will drink at least one. Being placed on the ground, a smaller gourd, cut in half, of the size of a tea-cup, is placed near it, and in this the liquor is served round, and not more than an interval of six or eight minutes is left between each draught. As if to excite appetite, at the beginning of these sittings, some roasted meat, strongly peppered, is generally circulated; but the bouza itself, the Arabs say, is sufficiently nourishing. In fact, the common sort looks more like soup or porridge, than a liquor to be drank. The Fakirs, or religious men, are the only persons who do not indulge, at least publicly, in this luxury; though the women are as much in the habit of drinking it as the men. In other respects, the people of Berber are abstemious, and often fast the whole day, for the sake of being able to enjoy themselves in the evening.

As they have no mills, they grind the Dhourra, by strewing it upon a smooth stone about two feet in length and one broad, which is placed in a sloping position before the person employed to grind. At the lower end of the stone, a jar, or broken bowl, being put into a hole in the ground, receives the flour. The grinder holds a small flat stone, in both his hands, and this is rubbed backwards and forwards on the sloping stone till the operation is finished, which is generally performed kneeling. If the best bread is to be made, then the Dhourra is well washed and dried in the sun; but it is generally put under the

stone without washing. Whilst grinding, they keep it wet by sprinkling water out of a basin, and thus the meal that falls into the pot or jar, resembles a coarse kind of paste, mixed with chaff and dirt. A jar filled with this, and left from twenty-four to thirty-six hours, slightly ferments, and acquires a sourish taste. No leaven is used, but the sour liquid is poured in small quantities upon an iron plate placed over the fire, or upon a thin well-smoothed stone, either of which, if thoroughly heated, will bake the cake in three or four minutes. As each cake is small, and must be baked separately, it requires a long time to prepare a sufficient quantity, as it is the custom to bring several dozen to the table while hot, in a large wooden bowl. Some onion sauce, broth, or milk, is then poured on them, and this sauce is called Mallah. The bread is never salted, but salt is mixed with the sauce; and this is the common and daily food at dinner and supper. Although very coarse, it is neither disagreeable nor hard of digestion, though the taste gets worse the longer it is kept. It is for this reason that it is always baked directly before dinner or supper. Thin cakes of this meal are prepared for travelling, by being left two or three days to turn quite sour, when, after being well toasted by the fire, they are crumbled into small pieces, and put into leathern bags, called Abra. Some melted butter being poured over handfuls of this food, it is very palatable. Sometimes the crumbs are soaked in water, and when it becomes sourish, it is drank off, and is estimated as an inferior kind of sherbet, and is the common beverage of the caravan. Though milk is the general food, meat boiled and roasted is often brought upon the table. Dates, as a great dainty, are used only on extraordinary occasions, when they are boiled together with bread, meat and milk. Coffee is rarely drank, even by people of the first class.

The effects of the universal practice of drunkenness

and debauchery among these Berbers, are very strongly portrayed by Mr. Burckhardt. He asserts, that every thing discreditable to humanity is found in their character, but that treachery and avidity absorb every other bad quality. In the pursuit of lucre they know no bounds, but forget every law human and divine, breaking even the most solemn ties and engagements.

Cheating, thieving, and the blackest ingratitude, are found in every man's character; and it is supposed, there were few among them who would have given a dollar to save a man's life, or who would not have consented to a man's death, in order to gain one. Infamous as the eastern nations are, Mr. Burckhardt asserts, he never met with so bad a people, excepting, perhaps, those of Suakin. Among the Berbers nothing is safe when it is once out of the owner's hands: for if he happens to be the weakest, he is sure of losing his property.

During the fortnight our traveller remained at Berber, many quarrels in drinking-parties terminated in the knife or the sword. No one thinks of going to these parties unless armed, and the girls are generally the first to suffer in these affrays. One of the chiefs here set no bounds to his atrocities; he killed several people upon the slightest provocation, with his own hands. His strength being such, that no one dared to meet him openly, he was at length killed, when drunk, in the house of a public woman. He once stopped a whole caravan coming from Daraou. No one in this country walks out after sun-set unarmed, and traders have often been stripped even in the village. Another mode of plundering strangers, is by getting them to the houses of the public women, and then pretending consanguinity and consequent dishonour. Mr. Burckhardt resolutely refused every invitation he received for going to the bouza parties. Foreign merchants are considered by these people as fair game; accordingly, on their first arrival, large

dishes of bread, milk, &c., may be sent them morning and evening ; yet, after four or five days, a repayment is demanded, and the unsuspecting stranger is obliged to give ten times the value of what he may have eaten.

One of the slaves of Edris, our traveller's host, though he had already made him some little presents, tore his shirt in pieces, because he refused to give it him. Applying to his master for redress, patience was recommended, as no insult was meant ! As the grown-up slaves are always armed, their insolence is intolerable, and if they see a stranger with a pipe in his mouth, they take it without saying a word, and seldom return it before it is smoked out. The people of Berber only smoke at home when they expect no visitors, and are afraid of the same indulgence abroad, for fear they should be deprived of it by some persons stronger than themselves.

An Arabian author is quoted, who confirms the character given these people by Mr. Burckhardt : he says, " They are a people of frolic, folly, and levity ; avaricious, treacherous, and malignant ; ignorant and base, and full of wickedness and lechery." This picture, Mr. Burckhardt says, is true in every part, applied to the people of Berber : they are of a very merry, facetious temper, continually joking, laughing, and singing. Even the elderly men are the same, and they have at least retained one good quality of their Arabian ancestors : they are not proud. The Mek, or king, is satisfied with common civility, and assumes no distinction of rank. The slaves of his family shew much more haughtiness than himself. But even the people here can be very polite when they think it suits their interest. Their language is full of complimentary phrases, and they inquire after a person's health and welfare, in a dozen different forms of speech. After a long absence, they kiss and shake hands with eagerness.

Women are saluted in a respectful manner, by touching the forehead with the right hand, and then kissing the part of the fingers so used. A common question asked in saluting, is "*Shedid?*" (strong.) Another is, "*Nalaak Taleb?*" "Is your sole well?" equal to saying, "Are you strong enough to walk as much as you like?" On meeting a person after the death of a relation, they kneel down on one knee by his side, and repeat, in a howling tone of voice, the words "In the road to God," signifying, that the deceased went in the right way. Then, after rising, the common salutation passes between the parties. The eastern *Shalam*, or "Peace be unto you," is not used here; but only the word *Tayeb*, or "well," repeated several times. The religious men say sometimes, "*Salem, salem,*" "Peace, peace;" but they are not answered like other Mussulmen, with the same repeated, but with "Well, are you well?"

The people of Berber appear to be a healthy race; few invalids were to be seen, and the air on the skirts of the desert is generally wholesome. An epidemic fever to which the people of Dongola are subject during the time of high-water, often proves mortal, but does not make its appearance every year. The plague is unknown, and, it seems, never passes the cataract of Assouan; but the small-pox is very destructive whenever it gains a footing. When this was last year brought by the people of Taka, grown-persons, as well as children, were affected; and it was observed, that the latter suffered the least by the disease. The only cure here for the small-pox, is to rub the whole body with butter, three or four times a day, and keep closely shut up. The inhabitants are generally visited by it once in eight or ten years, when numbers of them emigrate to the mountains. The tribe of Berber are partly shepherds and partly cultivators; just before they sow, they turn up the ground with the spade, and the plough is not in use

among them. No fruits whatever are cultivated. The principal riches of the shepherds consist in their cows and camels, their sheep and their goats. The cows are of a middling size, have small horns, and upon the back, near the fore-shoulder, a hump of fat. This breed, unknown in Egypt, begins at Don-gola, and runs along the Nile. Cows are kept principally for their meat, and a few of them are employed in turning the water-wheels. The camels are stronger and better able to endure fatigue, than any in Upper Egypt; they have short hair, and no tufts on any part of their body. The dromedary is so much prized here, that an Arab will undertake a journey of several days, when it is necessary to preserve the breed. The sheep, instead of being covered with wool, have short hair that resembles the goats; on this account they are reared only for the table. Almost every family keeps two asses for carrying nitre and the produce of the fields. Others keep at least one horse, and many two or three. The horsemen in the wars here generally decide a battle. When entering on a campaign, the horse's back, sides, breast, and neck, are covered with pieces of woollen stuff, thickly quilted with cotton, called *Lébs*, which is impenetrable to the lance or sword.

END OF AFRICA.

INDEX.

- Ababde Arabs, account of, 423, 425
 Abbey, natural resemblance of an, 215
 Acassey, the, a blue dye plant, 270
 Adams, shipwreck of, 135
 Adventures, singular, 145
 Adowers or tents, 313
 Æsculapius, temple of, 378
 Africa, various conquerors of, 1
 Africa, general observations on, 12
 African waggoners, 45, 46
 Akka, 157
 Akkabahs the, 157
 Algerines, history and character of, 302
 — acknowledged thieves, 307
 Algiers, civil government of, 301
 — city of, described, 303
 — slaves in, how treated, 304—Spanish hospital in, 307—attack upon, by Lord Exmouth, 310
 Aloes, large, 116
 Amadi Fatouma, relation of, concerning the death of Park, 231—doubtful character of the relation of, 235
 Amelia frigate, 259
 Animals, various, 66
 Ant, the white, 27
 Ant-hill, extraordinary, 74
 — ovens, 134
 Antelope hunting, 110
 Apostle, a black-footed, 254
 Arabs, the character of, 154
 — remorseless, 171
 — ferocity of the, 176
 Arabs, their mutual robberies and violence, 193
 — of the desert described, 167
 Arrows, poisoned, 292
 Ashantee mode of fighting, 286-299—public thanks of the king of the, 300
 — laws unusually rigid, 300
 Ashantees, account of the, 260-264
 — treaty with the, 27
 — remarkable customs of the, 283
 — commence their year in Autumn, 285
 — spies, 287—architecture, *ib.*—climate of the, *ib.*—a nation of warriors, *ib.*—animals, &c. among the, 288—dance of women among, 294—hospitality of the, 401
 Assouan, 427
 Baboon, the dog-faced, 66
 — sentinels, 126
 — story of a, 129
 Ba Deema, river of, 208
 Bairam, the Turkish festival, 369
 Bambakoo, fierceness of the lions at, 223
 Bangasse, a fortified town, 219
 Banks, Mr. 9
 — Sir Joseph, 152
 Barbary in general, 300
 Barroloos, 44
 Barrow, Mr. second journey of, 35

- Bath, a beautiful, 381
 Bats, uncommonly large, 381
 Bavian, Great, or Gnaden-
 thal mountain, 99—church
 in, 100—village, 101
 Bedouin Arabs, their caution,
 381—infatuation of the,
 333, 424
 Bengazi or Berenice, 354
 Berbers, the, 410, 425
 Berebbers, 153
 Bethelsdorp, 73, 119
 Biserta, 383
 Bisharage Arabs, 425
 Bishuah, a favourite dish,
 365
 Blaquiere, Mr. 353
 Bodies of men how reduced
 in weight, 191
 Boors, rebellious, hanged,
 106
 Boshuanas, the, 42
 Bosjesmans, 37, 38
 ——— language, houses,
 clothing of the, 68
 Bouza, what, 443
 Bowdich Mr. 12, 260
 Briqua town, 90
 Brothers, a fight between,
 188
 Brown, Mr. 3.
 Buffaloes, 25
 Burckhardt, Mr. 8—travels
 of in Nubia, 418
 Caffrees, the, 43
 ——— country of, 59
 ——— subject to few dis-
 eases, 69
 ——— Gacka, king of the, 70
 ——— dangerto settlements
 from the, 122
 Caledon, new town of, 102
 Camel, a, how eaten, 182
 Camels, how loaded, 169
 Campbell, Mr. 70
 Canal and aqueduct, ancient,
 375
 Cannibals, various, 295
 Cape Barbas, 137
 Cape Blanco, a cloud mis-
 taken for, 323
 Cape Coast Castle, blockade
 of, 266
 Cape Town, 13-22—country
 about, 22—vegetables near,
 23—trees and shrubs, *ib.*—
 animals, 24—birds, 26
 Cape wines, 28
 Caravan, a, described, 95
 Caravans plundered, 157
 Carthage, state of ancient,
 375, 376
 Cassob seed converted into
 flour, 364
 Cataracts of the Zaire, jour-
 ney to the, 243
 Caves, formation of inhabit-
 ed, 362
 Chains, how used upon slaves,
 316, 319
 Chaumareys, ignorance of
 Captain, 382-341
 want of humanity of, 340
 Chief, a high-spirited, 89
 Christian missionaries, 56
 ——— slaves well treated,
 383
 Christianity, benefits of, 116
 Circumstance, extraordinary,
 325
 Cold, excessive, 51
 Comb of gold, 417
 Congo expedition, the, 239
 ———, language of, 252
 Coomassie, account of, 271
 277
 Corana Hottentots, 90
 Corn, mode of grinding, 366
 Courage of the English resi-
 dent, 294
 Cowan, the unfortunate Mr.,
 80
 Credulity, instances of, 37
 Croker, Captain, 305
 Cruelty, acts of, 150

- Cruelty of a father, 325
 Cupido and Boozaky, 75
 Custom, barbarous, 262

 Dahomy, kingdom of, 261, 262
 Dancing girls, 84
 Darkness and rain, effects of, 280
 Daroua, 438
 Dates, 445
 Dead, the, how respected at Tripoly, 370
 Derne, 354
 Derr, temple of, 431
 Desert, a dreary, 73
 ———, manner of travelling over, 178
 Dhourra bread, 421, 435, 441
 Diamond mountain, a, 298
 Distress, dreadful, 175
 Djez, an Arab fowl, 147
 Dogs, 26
 Dongola, 436
 Doom, taking of, 298
 Donovan, Lieutenant, 89
 Drosdy, the new, 72
 Drunkenness, universal, 284
 Dumont, account of the slavery of P. G., 313
 ———, escape of, 325, 326
 ———, among the slaves liberated by Lord Exmouth, 327
 Dupuis, Mr., 151-153
 Dutch boors, 36
 ———, manners of the, 29, 30
 Dutch East India Company, 34

 Eating, disgusting mode of, 254
 Elephants River, 47
 El Wed Noon, 187
 Elves or fairies, the existence of, believed by the Moors, 370

 Embomma, disgusting custom at, 242—funeral ceremony at, 242
 Eunuchs, 161
 Evil eye, supposed charms against an, 370

 Family, a royal, entertained, 84
 Fantee market for slaves, 265-268
 Fetiches, illusions of the, 254, 255
 Fez, facility of passing from, to Tombuctoo, 238
 ———, situation of, 347
 Ficus religiosus, 251
 French woman, cruel fate of a, 338
 Fruit preserved by magic, 202

 Gaboon, river of, 294
 George, a new drosty, 70, 106
 Gold, mode of smelting, 216
 ——— mines, 164
 Gnadenthal, tame swallows at, 134
 Great Fish River, the, 58
 ———, the boundary between the colony and Caffraria, 126
 Griquas, the, 79
 Groenkloof, 96, 97

 Hadjee Talub, report of, concerning Mr. Park, 237
 Hantam, district, the, 48
 Hartebeest Fonteen, 49
 Hardcastle, village of, 90
 Heat, extraordinary, 92
 Herie, the, or desert camel, 169
 Herrez, the, a charm, 159
 Hill, a rocky, 216
 Hippopotami and crocodiles, 203
 Horuemann, Mr., 5

- Horse-flesh, where highly esteemed, 215
 Hottentot burial-place, 97
 — fig, the, 96
 — simplicity, 103
 Hottentots, 33-35
 House of a Dutch boor, 64

 Jackals hunted, 88
 Jackson, Mr., 375
 Ibrim, town and castle of, 334
 Idiots, sanctity attributed to, 369
 Indigo, excellent, 164
 Interment, singular mode of, 257
 Intenga, the, or iron tree, 295
 Joliba, His Majesty's schooner the, 230
 Journal of Mr. Park delivered to Isaaco, 230
 Isaaco attacked by a crocodile, 217
 Justice, an act of, 103

 Kaffo, attack made on Mr. Park off, 232
 Karroo, the, 52, 53
 Kayman's Gai, dangerous passage of, 107
 Kings, where numerous, 296
 Kok's Kraal, 91
 Koosa tribe, the, 59-61
 Korra country, the, 37

 Lackby, a favourite drink at Tripoli, 365
 Lady, the, of a boor, 92
 Land, a barren and thirsty, 166
 Language of the Caffres, 61
 Latrobe, Mr. 94
 Lavillette, intrepidity of, 336
 Lebida, the ancient Leptis Magna, 355
 Legh, Mr. 8
 Leetakoo, 39, 41, 80
 Leptis Magna, or Lebida, 355
 Lichtenstein, M. 45
 Lion, perseverance of a, 76
 —, a tame, 118
 —, curious noise made by, 222
 Liverpool captain, treachery of a, 241
 Lotus tree, account of the, 364
 Lutheran congregation, 98
 Lybia, 353

 Mahass, king of, 336
 Malays, 93, 94
 Mansa Numma, extortion of, 218
 Mansong, kindness and fear of, 224
 — preference of, for Birmingham necklaces, 227
 Maraboo, superstitious Dooty of, 223
 Marriage contract, a, 69
 — ceremonies, singular, 372
 — among the Congo Negroes, 252
 Medusa, the, sails for Africa, 327—is stranded, 328—dreadful sufferings of the people, 336 to 339
 — mutiny of the crew of the, 335
 Mercury applied to stop a dysentery, 224
 Mesurata, 354
 Middle Roggeveld, 50
 Mirage, remarkable, 58
 Mission to Ashantee, 266
 Money used in Congo, 257
 Moorish merchants, report of, concerning a white man on the Niger, 238
 Moors, who, 2
 — how employed in Tripoli, 362—character of the, 404
 Moravian society, 39

- Moravian settlements, 94
 Morocco, city of, 343—imperial palace of, 343—deserted houses in, 346—lantern tower, the, 345
 —sovereign of, 352
 Morolongs, 86
 Mosque, a Mahometan, 93
 —s, not inelegant, built of mud, 228
 Mountain geese, 27
 —s, the Konkodoo, 212
 Mules of Tripoly, 362
 Murder of Dr. Cowan, 85-88
 Mosquitoes, 27

 Naango, customs at, 296
 Namaqua land, the, 91
 Narrows, the, on the Zaire, 245
 New Testament, in Arabic, 213
 Nichols, Mr. 5
 Niger, distant prospect of the, 220-223—course of the, from Tombuctoo, 236, crocodiles and fish in the, 236
 Nile, the, of the negroes, 163
 Nubia, general remarks on, 418
 Nubians, habitations of the, 420—dress of the, 421
 Nuts, various, 297

 Oath, curious, required of Captain Tuckey, 242
 Objects, large and small, 65
 Old Boy, a common name, 77
 Ophthalmia, the, 346
 Orange river, 36, 91
 Osman, a Sheik, 315

 Paerdkop mountain, the, 111
 Paintings, curious, 83
 Pananti, Signor, account of his captivity, 307

 Park, Mr. 2, 154
 —his appointment and departure, 200—his mode of marching, 201—soldiers taken ill, 202, 204
 —adventures of, at Faranba, 205—disturbed by an immense swarm of bees, 207—celebrates His Majesty's birth-day, 209—experiences the first tornado, 210—sees the process in washing gold, 211
 —hostile reception of, 214—reaches the Ba Fing river, 215—finds the natives all thieves,
 Park, Mr. statement of, concerning the object of his journey, 225
 —account of the death of, 234
 —probable account of the fate of, 239
 Payntree's farm-house, 267
 Peacock, the wild, 110
 Peddie, Major, 11, 260, 339, 341
 Pigeons, wild, in wells, 382
 Plettenberg Bay, 110
 Porcupines, 206
 Port Bomba, 354
 Porta Farino, 379
 Post, the Little, 97
 Prayer in a wreck, 172
 Procession, a singular,
 Puff adder, the, 127

 Raft, construction of a, 330
 Rain, great inconvenience of, 221
 Ramadan, or the Mahomedan Lent, 369
 Ravines, remarkable, 111
 Red Caffres, 85
 Reservoirs, ancient, 377

- Rigour of Mahometan justice, 323, 324, 325
 Riley, Mr. falls into the hands of the Arabs, 165
 River, the Great, 54, 257
 River horses and crocodiles, 163
 Roads, good, made by the English, 96
 Roentgen, M., 6
 Roman remains, 355
 Roodezand, district of, 54
 Rowland Hill, village of, 90

 Sacrifice, a solemn, 291
 — of a venerable old man, 269
 Sacrifices, horrid, 284
 — human, 272-278
 Saints, Turkish, 427
 Salamé, Mr. Abraham, 310
 Saldanha Bay, 46
 Salt, brass, and tobacco, value of, 165
 Salt, where an object of trade, 257
 Salutations, modes of, 427, 428
 Sansanding, arrival of Park at, 228
 — markets at, 228, 229
 Santa Cruz, 190
 Schurfedeberg, the, 55
 Scorpion, a, burnt, 72
 Serpent, the black heart-headed, 195
 Serpent eaters, or Psylli, 361
 Sheyga Arabs, account of, 421
 Shop opened by Mr. Park at Sansanding, 229
 Sidi Hamet, 181-192, 193
 Sidi Useph, 410
 Skins, Caffre mode of dressing, 131
 Slave trade, restrictions not observed, 240
 Slaves, Wangareen, 160
 — of Hourssa, 160
 — where well treated, ib.
 Slaves, Christian, how fed, 185
 — sufferings and release of, 189
 — upwards of 3,000 delivered, 313
 — shot and thrown to the wild beasts, 319
 — suicide among, its consequences, 320—how punished for stealing, 321—instance of converted, 323
 Snakes killed by a cat, 121
 Saete Kloof, 116
 Saharra, the great desert, 156
 Songs in the desert, 158
 Soudenny, 138
 Stones resembling cairns in Scotland, 21
 Stream for dyeing scarlet, 376
 Subterranean apartments, curious, 381
 Suicide, Mahometan mode of, 324
 Superstition of the Caffres, 60
 Superstitious practices, 254
 Surgery, rude state of, at Tripoly, 373
 Surprise, effects of, 151
 Syrtis, Major, 361

 Tedlie, Mr. 281
 Temple, ancient, 380
 Thieves, privileged, 286
 Thirst, dreadful effects of, 156
 Tiger, curious rencontre with a, 132
 — 104, 105
 — killed, 112, 113, 114
 Tombuctoo, described by Adams, 139—dress and Slaves at, 140, 141
 — 155
 — trade at, 156
 — how situated, 161
 — account of by Lieut.-Col. Fitz Clarence, 235

- Tombuctoo, the cow of, 236**
 ——— size of, 237
 ——— articles which sell
 best at, 237
 ——— shortest and best
 road to, 263
Trap gun, a, 79
Travellers, famous, 2 to 12
Tree serpent, a, 103
Tripoly, 353-356—Bashaw's
 castle at, 356—caravanse-
 ras, mosques, and houses
 at, 356, 357—Bazaars or
 markets, 358—minarets, ib.
 —worship, 359—public
 baths ib.—Taverns, Euro-
 pean, 360—prospects from
 ib.—Jews at, 361—climate
 of, 363—a rainy season,
 &c. ib.—fruit and vegeta-
 bles at, ib.—favourite be-
 verage at, 365—trade of,
 367—religion of, 369—
 marriage ceremonies at,
 371—the military of, 374
Tuckey, Captain, 9
 ——— embarkation of Mr. 240
 ——— Captain, obliged to
 abandon his enterprise, 244
 ——— example of, 258
Tunis, 382—Bey's palace, 383
 —colleges and schools, 383
 —costume of, ib.—jealousy
 discouraged at, 384—prin-
 cipal manufactures, ib.
Vander Kemp, Dr., 60-63
 ——— death of, 71
 ——— injudicious choice
 of 119
Udena, 379—perfect state of
 the ruins at, 379
Uitenhagen, 117
Vlachdorn or Flatthorn, 130
- Up-hill work, what, 213**
Wadinoon, 149
Wangara lakes, position of
 the, 248
Wanketsens, 85
Warfare, generous mode of,
 62, 93
Water engine, 74
Water-wheels, 418
Water-melons, 87
Water, the value of, 181
White men where esteemed
 gods. 256
Willherforce Pass, 87
Williams, Mr., 180
Willshire, William, 190, 191
Winds, the hot, 156
Wines, various, 422
Wolla or Quolla, river of,
 296
Wolves, boldness of the, 221
Woman, a; of an uncommon
 size, 114
Woongawoonga, country of,
 295
Wooden-horses, what, 73
Yam custom, the, 283
 ——— plantations, 288
Zaire, voyage up the, 240
 ——— course of the, 247
 ——— identity of the and
 the Niger, 247—animals
 on the banks of the, 249
 ——— climate on the banks
 of the, 250—ground near,
 how cultivated, ib.
 ——— surveyed by Mr. Max-
 well, 258
Zondag's, Sunday's river, 118
Zonder End river, 56
Zwellendam, 57-105

THE END.



